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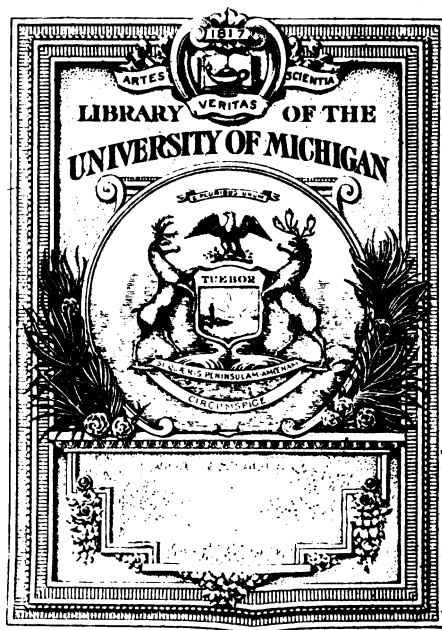
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AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

LIVES

OF

LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY

AND

THOMAS ELLWOOD.

WITH ESSAYS

By WILLIAM D. HOWELLS.

BOSTON:

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THE LIFE OF
EDWARD LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY.

200852

TO THE MOST NOBLE

HENRY ARTHUR HERBERT,

EARL OF POWIS,

VISCOUNT LUDLOW, LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY, BARON POWIS AND
LUDLOW,

AND TREASURER OF HIS MAJESTY'S HOUSEHOLD.

MY LORD,

Permit me to offer to your Lordship in this more durable manner the very valuable present I received from your hands. To your Lordship your great ancestor owes his revival; and suffer me, my Lord, to tell the world what does you so much honor, you have given him and me leave to speak truth; an indulgence which I am sorry to say few descendants of heroes have minds noble enough to allow.

Hitherto Lord Herbert has been little known but as an author. I much mistake if hereafter he is not considered as one of the most extraordinary characters which this country has produced. Men of the proudest blood shall not blush to distinguish themselves in letters as well as arms, when they learn what excellence Lord Herbert attained in both. Your Lordship's lineage at least will have a pattern before their eyes to excite their emulation: and while they admire the piety

with which you have done justice to your common ancestor, they cannot be forgetful of the obligation they will have to your Lordship's memory for transmitting to them this record of his glory.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obedient,

and most obliged servant,

HORACE WALPOLE.



EDWARD LORD HERBERT.

IN many passages the autobiography of Lord Herbert is of a style so charming, and of a manner and matter so singularly characteristic of his order, age, and nation, that one might easily believe it written by some skilful student of the period, with a tacit modern consciousness of the wonderful artistic success of the study. As you read, you cannot help thinking now and then that Thackeray himself could not have done it better, if he had been minded to portray a gentleman of the first James's time. Yet this picture, so frank, so boldly colored, so full of the very life of a young English noble, is one of the most remarkable instances of self-portraiture in any language, in the absence of that consciousness which the momentarily bewildered sense attributes to it; its great value to the reader of our day is, that the author sits to himself as unconstrainedly as if posterity should never come to look over his shoulder, and all his attitudes and expressions are those of natural ease. A rare sincerity marks the whole memoir, and gives it the grace of an antique simplicity. Where Lord Herbert praises his own courage, and tells with full circumstan-

stances of his feats of arms, you feel that he is but doing himself justice, and are no more disposed to smile than if you had heard of his prowess from another. He is equally frank as to his faults and his virtues ; if the latter outnumber the former in his count, you are pretty certain that he has not erred. He is the farthest remove from a coxcomb in this story of his life, though some of the actions he records were reckless and even foolhardy, and his morals are often of the worldliest sort. Honor, not righteousness, was his first care ; he was at any time ready to die for the respect due him from other men ; but what he exacted, he endeavored fairly to render again, though rather as the obligation of a gentleman than as the duty of a Christian. Indeed he was no Christian at all. He wrote a book to prove that there was no such thing as direct revelation, though he prayed for a sign from heaven before he published his book, — an inconsistency is not grosser than others of his, or those of other men. He loved virtue, and he expressly declares that goodness is to be preferred before knowledge, since it will make one's way "better both to happiness in this world and the next." He was not a Christian, and yet he was deeply religious, and there is a vein of sweet, manly seriousness running through his thoughts of spiritual things such as should be in the thoughts of the brother of the gentle poet George Herbert. His belief in the soul's immortality is firm, and the grounds of his faith are those to which men have always clung and must still cling when they cast aside the stay and consolation of a revealed faith. There exists in Lord Herbert's handwriting a prayer which it is supposed he used daily, and in which there is a reasoned hope and a natural piety, together with a spirit of the humblest and deepest reverence, which are very

touchingly expressed. This prayer is indeed the best exposition of his religious belief, and forms the most fitting comment on the passages of his memoir which deal with religious matters.

O God! Thou, by whose power and wisdom all things at first were made, and by whose providence and goodness they are continued and preserved, still behold, from thy everlasting dwelling above, me thy creature and inhabitant of this lower world, who from this valley of change and corruption, lifting up heart and eyes to thee his eternal God and Creator, does here acknowledge and confess these manifold blessings, these vast gifts bestowed on me; as namely, that before I yet was, when I could neither know nor consent to be great and good, thy eternal providence had ordained me this being, by which I was brought into this world, a living, free, and reasonable creature, not senseless or brutish, but capable of seeing and understanding thy wondrous works herein; and not only so, but of using and enjoying them in that plentiful measure wherein they have been hitherto afforded me. O Lord, with all humbleness I confess, that were there no other pledge of thy favor than this alone, it were more than any of thy creatures in this life can possibly deserve.

But thy mercies go farther yet. Thou hast not only made me see, know, and partake thy works, but hast suffered me to love thee for the blessings showed us in them. I say, thou hast admitted frail dust and ashes to so high a dignity as to love thee, the infinite and eternal beauty. And not only disdainest it not, but acceptest, yea, and rewardest the same: and whence can this come, but from thy everlasting goodness, which, had it not vouchsafed to love me first, I could not have had the power (than which no man has no greater) of loving thee again. Yet here thy mercies stay not. Thou hast not only given me to know and love thee, but hast written in my heart a desire even to imitate and be like thee (as far as in this frail flesh I may), and not only so, but many ways enabled me to the performance of it.

And from hence, Lord, with how much comfort do I learn the high estate I received in my creation, as being formed in thine own similitude and likeness. But, O Lord, thy mercies (for they are infinite) are not bounded even here. Thou hast, then, not only given me the means of knowing, loving, and imitating thee in this life, but hast given me the ambition of knowing, loving, and imitating thee after this life; and for that purpose hast begun in me a desire of happiness, yea, of eternal bliss, and from thence proceeded to give me hope; and not only so, but also a faith which does promise and assure me, that since this desire can come from none but thee, nothing thou doest, can be in vain. What shall I say, then, but desire thee, O Lord, to fulfil it in thy good time, to me thy unworthy creature, who in this flesh can come no nearer thee than the desiring that mortality which both keeps me from thy abode, and makes me most unlike thee here. Amen.

In the expression of Herbert's ideas concerning what it is fit a gentleman need and need not know — apparently the things in which Lord Herbert himself is and is not accomplished — there is a quaintness which is very delightful. I do not know where the reader should look in English literature for another picture of the times at all comparable to that which he will find in this memoir. It is all the more interesting and valuable, because it is a picture not only of English but of continental manners, in an age when there was a greater likeness in them than there is now, at least among "people of quality." Their divergence in morality and the whole conduct of life is a fact of almost as recent date as the triumph of Puritanism. An English noble of Elizabeth's or James's court hardly found himself a stranger at that of Henry IV. or Louis XIII. Protestantism was still very new, and the balance for or against it was nowhere finally confirmed; many of

the first gentlemen of the French kingdom were of "the religion," and it had not yet begun greatly to modify the English aristocracy. It must be owned that the manners of the first society as we see them in Lord Herbert's memoir are not such as always to dazzle or awe the modern democrat: one finds them sometimes of an undignified rusticity, as in that instance where a French gentleman snatches a knot of ribbon from the hat of the daughter of the Duchess of Ventadour, and Herbert, whom the little dame begs to get it back for her, chases the Frenchman all about the meadow till he runs him down. To be sure, his lordship was ready to kill this indiscreet gentleman afterwards for his disrespect to the little lady. He was at all times ready to kill or be killed in such a cause, and this gallant eagerness to hazard life has its splendid aspect. Even when it is quixotic, as when Lord Herbert challenges the Governor of Lyons for arresting him (Herbert was recruiting men in France to fight in the Duke of Savoy's service), it is not altogether ridiculous. There is also a magnificence in the friendship of these fine personages, of which the reader will gain a pleasant idea from Herbert's account of his intimacy with the Montmorencies. Even where they meet as enemies their intercourse has the glamour of a time when arms were the first accomplishment of a gentleman, and war was still a polite distraction for people of quality, whatever it was for other people.

Herbert, not only as James's ambassador to Louis XIII., but as a sort of soldier of fortune in the Low Countries, and a peaceful traveller in Italy, saw everything that was best worth seeing in the Europe of his day. After parting from his wife, who refused to go

and see the world with him, — his naïve account of their separation is one of the most amusing passages of his autobiography, — he seems to have dedicated himself to the pleasures of travel and knight-errantry, and we find him everywhere resenting insult, observing life, and noting manners. He sketches now the beautiful daughter of an Italian inn-keeper, and gives now the pretty speech he made to a Venetian nun; he tells of the superb state and unbending pride in which he maintains the English embassy at Paris; he recounts the curious diplomacy by which he involves himself in a quarrel with Louis XIII.'s worthless favorite De Luynes, in fulfilment of the compact between James II. and Henry IV., that whichever outlived the other should watch over and advise his son; he touches life at all points, and at all times he is charming. It is infinitely to be regretted that his autobiography closes before the time of his second embassy to the French court, whither he was sent to conclude the marriage between Charles I. and Henrietta Maria, after the failure of the Spanish match. But there exist some letters of Herbert's relating to this matter, which are curious, and very characteristic of himself and of the period. The letters are addressed to James I., and in one, of the date of August 24, 1677, the king is assured that the marriage is generally desired by the French nation, "and particularly by madame herself," — the Princess Henrietta Maria — "who hath not only cast out many words to this purpose, but where there hath been a question of the diversity of religions, hath said, that a wife ought to have no will, but that of her husband's," — complaisance as great as that cited by Thackeray of the Duchess of Hanover, who when *asked of what religion her daughter was*, replied that

the princess was of no religion, *as yet*. But the daughter of Henry IV. may have justly felt that her father's change of faith, when he abjured Protestantism for the sake of power, was an example which ought to have weight with her, and that a reason of state was sufficient reason. The Bourbons have since grown more tenacious of their belief, — having got the wrong one. The second letter of Herbert referring to this marriage was written after Charles's return from his romantic journey to Spain, but before the Spanish alliance was given up. It is interesting not upon this point alone, but in its reference to the hopes fixed by gentlemen of "the religion" upon the cold-hearted pedant on the English throne, — hopes afterwards so terribly cheated at La Rochelle by Charles I. when he came to power.

MY MOST GRACIOUS SOVERAIGNE, — Now that I thanke God for it, his highnes, accordinge to my continuall prayers, hath made a safe and happy returne unto your sacred majestie's presence, I think myselfe bounde, by way of complete obedience to those commandements I received from your sacred majestie, both by Mr. Secretarie Calvert and my brother Henry, to give your sacred majestie an account of that sense which the generall sort of people doth entertaine here, concerninge the whole frame and contexte of his highnes voyage. It is agreed on all parts that his highnes must have received much contentment, in seeinge two great kingdomes, and consequently in enjoyng that satisfaction which princes but rarely, and not without great perill obtain. His highnes discretion, diligence, and princely behavior everywhere, likewise is much prayسد. Lastly, since his highnes journey hath fallen out so well, that his highnes is come back without any prejudice to his person or dignitie: they say the successe hath sufficiently commended the counceill. This is the most common censure (even of the bigot party, as I am informed), which I approve in all, but in

the last pointe, in the delivery whereof I finde somethinge to dialike, and therefore tell them, that thinges are not to be judged alone by the successe, and that when they would not looke so highe as God's providence, without which no place is secure, they might finde even in reason of state, so much, as might sufficiently warrante his highnes person, and libertie to returne.

I will come from the ordinarie voice, to the selecter judgment of the ministers of state, and more intelligent people in this kingdome, who though they nothinge vray from the above-recited opinion, yet as more profoundly lookinge into the state of this longe-treated-of allyance betwixte your sacred majestie and Spaine, in the persons of his highnes and the infanta, they comprehend their sentence thereof (as I am informed) in three propositions.

First, that the protestation, which the kinge of Spaine made to his highnes upon his departure, whereby he promised to chase away, and dis-favor all those who should oppose this marriage, doth extende no further, than to the sayd kinges servants, or at furthest, not beyonde the temporall princes his neighbours, so that the pope, beinge not included herin, it is thought his consent must bee yet obtained, and consequently that the business is in little more forwardnes than when it first beganne.

Secondly, that the pope will never yield his consent, unless your sacred majestie grante some notable privileges and advantage to the Roman Catholique religion in your sacred majestie's kingedomes.

Thirdly, that the sayd kinge of Spaine would never insiste upon obtaininge those privileges, but that hee more desires to forme a party in your sacred majestie's kingedomes, which he may keep always obsequious to his will, then to maintain a frendly correspondence betwixt your sacred majestie and himselfe. I must not, in the last place, omitte to acquaint your sacred majestie very particularly with the sense which was expressed by the hons Francois, and body of those of the religion,

who hartly wishe that the same greatnes which the king of Spaine doth so affecte over all the worlde, and still maintaines even in this country, which is to bee protector of the jesuited and bigot partie, your sacred majestie would embrace in beeing defender of our faith. The direct answer to which, though I evade, and therefore reply little more, then that this counceill was much fitter when the union in Germany did subsiste than at this tyme; yet do I think myselfe obliged to represente the affection they beare unto your sacred majestie. This is as much as is come to my notice, concerninge that pointe your sacred majestie gave mee in charge, which therfore I have plainly layd open before your sacred majestie's eyes, as understandinge well, that princes never receive greater wronge, then when the ministers they putte in truste do palliate and disguise those thinges which it concernes them to knowe. For the avoydinge wherof, let me take the boldnes to assure your sacred majestie that those of this king's counceill here will use all means they can, both to the king of Spaine, and to the pope (in whom they pretend to have very particular interest), not only to interrupte, but yf it be possible, to breake off your sacred majestie's allyance with Spaine. For which purpose the Count de Tillieres hath stricte commande to give eether all punctuall advice, that accordingly they may proceede. It rests that I most humbly beseech your sacred majestie to take my free relation of these particulars in good part, since I am of no faction, nor have any passion or interest, but faithfully to performe that service and dutie which I owe to your sacred majestie, for whose perfect health and happiness I pray, with the devotion of

Your sacred majestie's

Most obedient, most loyall, and most affectionate subject
and servant,

HERBERT.

From MERLOU CASTLE, the 31st of October, 1623.

After his return from France, upon the conclusion of the marriage between Charles and Henrietta, Herbert was created, in 1625, an Irish peer, and then, in 1631,

a peer of England, with the title of Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbury in Shropshire. It has been conjectured by an earlier editor of his memoir that he lost his interest at court after the assassination of Buckingham, who was his friend. At any rate, he lived in a retirement scarcely broken till the troubles between Charles and his Parliament began. He was at first inclined to favor the king; but he afterwards sided with Parliament, and suffered the resentment of the royalists. He marched with the army of Parliament into Scotland in 1639, but he did not take a conspicuous part in the war. He received the castle of Montgomery in requital of his losses by the king's troops, and he lived on his estates throughout the troubles in a quiet to which his feeble health perhaps obliged him. He died in 1648, in London. Although he was not a Christian, he had prayers twice a day in his household, and a sermon on Sundays; now when he came to die, he sent for the Lord Primate of Ireland, then in London, to give him the sacrament, saying that if it did no good, it could do no harm. The primate refused to administer it upon these terms. Herbert made no answer, but asked the time, and saying, "An hour hence I shall depart," turned his face to the wall and "expired with great serenity."

I have kept in the present edition the dedication and advertisement with which Horace Walpole first gave to the world Lord Herbert's autobiography, and in which the reader will find much interesting information, as well as valuable comment on the author. Herbert published many other books, none of which, I believe, are read in our time. His work, "*De Veritate*," in which he denied Scriptural revelation, upon the authority of direct revelation to himself, made trouble

and confutation enough. Baxter, Haliburton, and Locke replied to it; but it has long been superseded by other doubts and arguments. His "*De Religione Gentilium*," exposing the errors of paganism, is equally dead; neither his "*Expositio Buckinghami Ducis in Oleam Insulam*," nor his "*Life and Reign of Henry the Eighth*," are current, or, out of antiquarian libraries, even standard literature, though the latter was written at King James's command. Walpole calls it a masterpiece of historical biography. Hallam, also in his "*Introduction to the Literature of Europe*," speaks of this history as "a book of good authority and written in a manly and judicious spirit." He finds the "*De Religione Gentilium*," even more "inimical to every positive religion" than the "*De Veritate*," and declares that Herbert "damns as summarily as any theologian" those heathen who do not accept his five fundamental truths, to wit: that there is a supreme God; that he is to be worshipped; that virtue and piety are the chief elements of this worship; that sins are to be repented and eschewed; that good and evil will be rewarded and punished in this life and the next. These truths form the basis of Herbert's arguments in both works; but in "*De Veritate*," Hallam complains of his metaphysical obscurity, and confesses that he has the greatest difficulty in following and restating his philosophy.

Herbert's account of Buckingham's expedition appears to be hardly more than an ineffectual defence of that favorite's failure to relieve La Rochelle, in which the French Protestants were holding out against Richelieu. A volume of our author's "*Occasional Verses*," published by his son, has long gone the way of an incalculable mass of other occasional verses. I judge

from certain sonnets, that they were not easy to read ; they are sonnets strictly of his century, full of metaphysical conceits and painfulnesses, as any one may see from the examples below : —

TO A YOUNG PALE BEAUTY.

From thy pale look, while angry love doth seem
With more imperiousness to give his law,
Than where he blushingly doth beg esteem ;
We may observe tried beauty in such awe,
That the brav'st colour under her command
Affrighted, oft before you doth retire ;
While, like a statue of yourself you stand
In such symmetrique form, as doth require
No lustre but its own ; as then, in vain,
One should flesh colouring to statues add,
So were it to your native white a stain
If it in other ornaments were clad,
Than what your rich proportions do give,
Which in a boundless fair being unconfin'd,
Exalted in your soul, so seem to live,
That they become an emblem of your mind ;
That so, who to your orient white should join
Those fading qualities most eyes adore,
Were but like one who, gilding silver coin,
Gave but occasion to suspect it more.

TO HIS WATCH, WHEN HE COULD NOT SLEEP.

Uncessant minutes, whilst you move, you tell
The time that tells our life, which, though it run
Never so fast or far, your new begun
Short steps shall overtake : for though life well
May 'scape his own account, it shall not yours.
You are death's auditors, that both divide
And sum whate'er that life inspir'd endures,
Past a beginning ; and through you we bide

The doom of fate, whose unrecall'd decree
You date, bring, execute ; making what's new,
Ill ; and good, old ; for as we die in you,
You die in time, time in eternity.

The epitaph on himself is a yet tougher morsel : —

READER,

The monument which thou beholdest here,
Presents Edward, Lord Herbert, to thy sight ;
A man, who was so free from either hope or fear,
To have or lose this ordinary light,
That when to elements his body turned were,
He knew that as those elements would fight,
So his immortal soul should find above
With his Creator, peace, joy, truth, and love !

No one reader, I think, will make Herbert's acquaintance in this frank and hearty memoir without great liking and respect. He was, as Ben Jonson said, "many men" in one, yet each of his several selves had some virtue to take regard ; even his faults are of the sort which men forgive, and women love. I have flattered myself that in grouping him with the sturdy Quaker Ellwood, I have furnished the reader an easy means for a comparison which will not be unfair to either of them. They are both characters of the most distinct type, of a like heroic mould in many things, and of a similar devoutness, however diverse in their theories of religion and of life ; it were hard to say which is the worst poet. Herbert represents the last phase of chivalry, the essence of which lingered in his heart and influenced his conduct, while his daring intellect questioned the highest things, and infinitely removed him from medievalism. He was of the cosmo-

politan nobility, which found itself at home anywhere in the world of courts and camps; and he was patriotic to the last drop of his blood. Ellwood was of the new dispensation which shunned the world, which bade men fashion themselves on Christ's example, and abhorred arms and vanities. His sect goes forward to an early extinction, but its animating spirit can never die out of the world; it must prevail and rule at last. The courtier is picturesque and romantic, in a degree which takes the artistic sense with keen delight; the Quaker is good and beautiful, with a simple righteousness that comforts and strengthens the soul.





ADVERTISEMENT.

SOME years ago the following pages would have been reckoned one of the greatest presents which the learned world could have received. The Life of the famous Lord Herbert of Cherbury, written by himself, would have excited the curiosity of the whole republic of letters. Perhaps a less proportion of expectation may attend this its late appearance. Not that the abilities of the noble writer have fallen into disesteem. His Reign of Henry the Eighth is allowed to be a masterpiece of his historic biography. But they were his speculative works which, raising a multitude of admirers or censors from their acuteness and singularity, made Lord Herbert's a name of the first importance. The many great men who illustrated the succeeding period have taken off some of the public attention ; for it is only a genius of the first force whose fame dilates with ages, and can buoy itself up above the indifference which steals upon mankind as an author becomes less and less the subject of conversation. Speculative writers, however penetrating, however sublime their talents, seldom attain the seal of universal approbation, because, of all the

various abilities which Providence has bestowed on man, reasoning is not the power which has been brought to standard perfection. Poetry and eloquence have been so far perfected that the great masters in those branches still remain unequalled. But where is that book of human argumentation, where that system of human opinions, which has not been partly confuted or exploded? Novelty itself in matters of metaphysical inquiry often proves, in effect, a confutation of antecedent novelties. Opponents raise the celebrity of the doctrines they attack: newer doctrines stifle that celebrity. This is a truth which the bigots of Lord Herbert's age would not have liked to hear; but what has happened to many other great men has been his fate too: they who meant to wound his fame extended it; when the cry of enthusiasts was drawn off to fresher game, his renown grew fainter. His moral character recovered its lustre, but has fewer spectators to gaze at it.

This introduction to his life may not be improper, though at first it may mislead the reader, who will hence perhaps expect from his own pen some account of a person's creed, whom a few sottish zealots once represented as having none at all. His lordship's thorough belief and awful veneration of the Deity will clearly appear in these pages; but neither the unbeliever nor the monk will have farther satisfaction. This life of a philosopher is neither a deduction of his opinions nor a table of philosophy. I will anticipate the reader's surprise, though it shall be but in a word: to his astonishment he will find that the history of Don Quixote was the life of Plato.

The noble family which gives these sheets to the world is above the little prejudices which make many

a race defraud the public of what was designed for it by those who alone had a right to give or withhold. It is above suppressing what Lord Herbert dared to tell. Foibles, passions, perhaps some vanity, surely some wrongheadedness, — these he scorned to conceal, for he sought truth, wrote on truth, was truth. He honestly told when he had missed or mistaken it. His descendants, not blind to his faults, but through them conducting the reader to his virtues, desire the world to make this candid observation with them: "That there must have been a wonderful fund of internal virtue, of strong resolution, and manly philosophy, which, in an age of such mistaken and barbarous gallantry, of such absurd usages and false glory, could enable Lord Herbert to seek fame better founded, and could make him reflect that there might be a more desirable kind of glory than that of a romantic duellist." None shut their eyes so obstinately against seeing what is ridiculous as they who have attained a mastery in it; but that was not the case of Lord Herbert. His valor made him a hero, be the heroism in vogue what it would; his sound parts made him a philosopher. Few men in truth have figured so conspicuously in lights so various; and his descendants, though they cannot approve him in every walk of glory, would perhaps injure his memory if they suffered the world to be ignorant that he was formed to shine in every sphere into which his impetuous temperament or predominant reason conducted him.

As a soldier, he won the esteem of those great captains the Prince of Orange and the Constable de Montmorency; as a knight, his chivalry was drawn from the purest founts of the Fairy Queen. Had he been ambitious, the beauty of his person would have carried him as far as any gentle knight can aspire to go. As

a public minister, he supported the dignity of his country, even when its prince disgraced it ; and that he was qualified to write its annals as well as to ennoble them, the history I have mentioned proves, and must make us lament that he did not complete, or that we have lost, the account he purposed to give of his embassy. These busy scenes were blended with and terminated by meditation and philosophic inquiries. Strip each period of its excesses and errors, and it will not be easy to trace out or dispose the life of a man of quality into a succession of employments which would better become him. Valor and military activity in youth ; business of state in the middle age ; contemplation and labors for the information of posterity in the calmer scenes of closing life. This was Lord Herbert : the deduction he will give himself.

The MS. was in great danger of being lost to the world. Henry Lord Herbert, grandson of the author, died in 1691 without issue, and by his will left his estate to Francis Herbert of Oakly Park (father of the present Earl of Powis), his sister's son. At Lymore, in Montgomeryshire (the chief seat of the family after Cromwell had demolished Montgomery Castle), was preserved the original manuscript. Upon the marriage of Henry Lord Herbert with a daughter of Francis, Earl of Bradford, Lymore, with a considerable part of the estate thereabouts, was allotted for her jointure. After his decease Lady Herbert usually resided there ; she died in 1714. The MS. could then not be found ; yet while she lived there, it was known to have been in her hands. Some years afterwards it was discovered at Lymore among some old papers, in very bad condition ; several leaves being torn out and others stained to such a degree as to make it scarcely legible. Under these

circumstances inquiry was made of the Herberts of Ribbisford (descended from Sir Henry Herbert, a younger brother of the author lord) in relation to a duplicate of the memoirs, which was confidently said to be in their custody. It was allowed that such a duplicate had existed, but no one could recollect what was become of it. At last, about the year 1737, this book was sent to the Earl of Powis by a gentleman, whose father had purchased an estate of Henry Herbert of Ribbisford (son of Sir Henry Herbert above-mentioned), in whom was revived in 1694 the title of Cherbury, which had been extinguished in 1691. By him (after the sale of the estate) some few books, pictures, and other things were left in the house and remained there to 1737. This manuscript was amongst them; which, not only by the contents (as far as it was possible to collate it with the original), but by the similitude of the writing, appeared to be the duplicate so much sought after.

Being written when Lord Herbert was past sixty, the work was probably never completed. A few notes have been added, to point out the most remarkable persons mentioned in the text. The style is remarkably good for that age, which, coming between the nervous and expressive manliness of the preceding century and the purity of the present standard, partook of neither. His lordship's observations are new and acute; some very shrewd, as that to the Duc de Guise; his discourse on the Reformation very wise. To the French confessor his reply was spirited; indeed, his behavior to Luynes, and all his conduct, gave ample evidence of his constitutional fire. But nothing is more marked than the air of veracity or persuasion which runs through the whole narrative. If he make us wonder, and won-

der make us doubt, the charm of his ingenuous integrity dispels our hesitation. The whole relation throws singular light on the manners of the age, though the gleams are transient. In those manners nothing is more striking than the strange want of police in this country. I will not point out instances, as I have already perhaps too much opened the contents of a book which, if it give other readers half the pleasure it afforded me, they will own themselves extraordinarily indebted to the noble person by whose favor I am permitted to communicate to them so great a curiosity.





THE LIFE OF
EDWARD LORD HERBERT
OF CHERBURY.



DO believe that if all my ancestors had set down their lives in writing, and left them to posterity, many documents necessary to be known of those who both participate of their natural inclinations and humors, must in all probability run a not much different course, might have been given for their instruction; and certainly it will be found much better for men to guide themselves by such observations as their father, grandfather and great-grandfather might have delivered to them, than by those vulgar rules and examples which cannot in all points so exactly agree unto them. Therefore, whether their life were private, and contained only precepts necessary to treat with their children, servants, tenants, kinsmen, and neighbors, or employed abroad in the university, or study of the law, or in the court, or in the camp, their heirs might have benefited themselves more by them than by any else; for

which reason I have thought fit to relate to my posterity those passages of my life which I conceive may best declare me, and be most useful to them. In the delivery of which I profess to write with all truth and sincerity, as scorning ever to deceive or speak false to any, and therefore detesting it much more where I am under obligation of speaking to those so near me; and if this be one reason for taking my pen in hand at this time, so as my age is now past threescore, it will be fit to recollect my former actions, and examine what had been done well or ill, to the intent I may both reform that which was amiss, and so make my peace with God, as also comfort myself in those things which, through God's great grace and favor, have been done according to the rules of conscience, virtue, and honor. Before yet I bring myself to this account, it will be necessary I say somewhat concerning my ancestors, as far as the notice of them is come to me in any credible way; of whom yet I cannot say much, since I was but eight years old when my grandfather died, and that my father lived but about four years after; and that for the rest I have lived for the most part from home, it is impossible I should have that entire knowledge of their actions which might inform me sufficiently. I shall only therefore relate the more known and undoubted parts of their lives.*

My father was Richard Herbert, Esq., son to Edward Herbert, Esq., and grandchild to Sir Richard

* Though his lordship, according to his scrupulous exactness, would set down nothing relating to his ancestors but what was of undoubted notoriety, yet it is probable that he had some memorials of his family in writing; for Dugdale in his *Baronage*, Vol. II. p. 256, edit. of 1676, quotes a curious passage relating to the family's assumption of the name of Herbert from a manuscript book which he had seen in the hands of our author, Lord Herbert.

Herbert, Knt., who was a younger son of Sir Richard Herbert, of Colebrook, in Monmouthshire, of all whom I shall say a little. And first of my father, whom I remember to have been black-haired and bearded, as all my ancestors of his side are said to have been, of a manly or somewhat stern look, but withal very handsome and well compact in his limbs, and of a great courage, whereof he gave proof, when he was so barbarously assaulted by many men in the churchyard at Llanerfyl, at what time he would have apprehended a man who denied to appear to justice; for defending himself against them all, by the help only of one John ap Howell Corbet, he chased his adversaries until a villain, coming behind him, did over the shoulders of others wound him on the head behind with a forest bill until he fell down, though recovering himself again, notwithstanding his skull was cut through to the pia mater of the brain, he saw his adversaries fly away, and after walked home to his house at Llyssyn, where, after he was cured, he offered a single combat to the chief of the family, by whose procurement it was thought the mischief was committed; but, he disclaiming wholly the action as not done by his consent, which he offered to testify by oath, and the villain himself flying into Ireland, whence he never returned, my father desisted from prosecuting the business any farther in that kind, and attained, notwithstanding the said hurt, that health and strength that he returned to his former exercises in a country life, and became the father of many children. As for his integrity in his places of deputy lieutenant of the county, justice of the peace, and custos rotulorum, which he, as my grandfather before him, held, it is so memorable to this day that it was said his

enemies appealed to him for justice, which they also found on all occasions. His learning was not vulgar, as understanding well the Latin tongue, and being well versed in history. My grandfather was of a various life: beginning first at court, where, after he had spent most part of his means, he became a soldier, and made his fortune with his sword at the siege of St. Quintens in France and other wars, both in the north and in the rebellions happening in the times of King Edward the Sixth and Queen Mary, with so good success that he not only came off still with the better, but got so much money and wealth as enabled him to buy the greatest part of that livelihood which is descended to me; though yet I hold some lands which his mother, the Lady Ann Herbert, purchased, as appears by the deeds made to her by that name, which I can show; and might have held more, which my grandfather sold underfoot at an under value in his youth, and might have been recovered by my father had my grandfather suffered him. My grandfather was noted to be a great enemy to the outlaws and thieves of his time, who robbed in great numbers in the mountains in Montgomeryshire, for the suppressing of whom he went often both day and night to the places where they were; concerning which, though many particulars have been told me, I shall mention one only. ¶ Some outlaws being lodged in an alehouse upon the hills of Llandinam, my grandfather and a few servants coming to apprehend them, the principal outlaw shot an arrow against my grandfather, which stuck in the pommel of his saddle; whereupon my grandfather coming up to him with his sword in his hand, and taking him prisoner, he showed him the said arrow, bidding him look what he had done, whereof the outlaw was no farther sensible

than to say he was sorry that he left his better bow at home, which he conceived would have carried his shot to his body; but the outlaw, being brought to justice, suffered for it. My grandfather's power was so great in the country that divers ancestors of the better families now in Montgomeryshire were his servants and raised by him. He delighted also much in hospitality, as having a very long table twice covered every meal with the best meats that could be gotten, and a very great family. It was an ordinary saying in the country at that time when they saw any fowl rise, "Fly where thou wilt, thou wilt light at Black hall," which was a low building, but of great capacity, my grandfather erected in his age; his father and himself in former times having lived in Montgomery Castle. Notwithstanding yet these expenses at home, he brought up his children well, married his daughters to the better sort of persons near him, bringing up his younger sons at the university; from whence his son Matthew went to the Low Country wars, and after some time spent there came home and lived in the country at Dolegeog, upon a house and fair living which my grandfather bestowed upon him. His son also, Charles Herbert, after he had passed some time in the Low Countries, likewise returned home, and was after married to an inheritrix, whose eldest son, called Sir Edward Herbert, Knt., is the king's attorney-general. His son George, who was of New College in Oxford, was very learned, and of a pious life, died in a middle age of a dropsy.

Notwithstanding all which occasions of expense, my grandfather purchased much lands, without doing anything yet unjustly or hardly, as may be collected by an offer I have publicly made divers times, having

given my bailiff in charge to proclaim to the country, that if any lands were gotten by evil means, or so much as hardly, they should be compounded for, or restored again; but to this day, never any man yet complained to me in this kind. He died at the age of fourscore or thereabouts, and was buried in Montgomery church, without having any monument made for him, which yet for my father is there set up in a fair manner. My great-grandfather, Sir Richard Herbert, was steward in the time of King Henry the Eighth, of the lordships and marches of North Wales, East Wales, and Cardiganshire, and had power, in a martial law, to execute offenders; in the using thereof he was so just that he acquired to himself a singular reputation, as may appear upon the records of that time, kept in the paper-chamber at Whitehall, some touch whereof I have made in my "History of Henry the Eighth"; of him I can say little more than that he likewise was a great suppressor of rebels, thieves, and outlaws, and that he was just and conscionable; for if a false or cruel person had that power committed to his hands, he would have raised a great fortune out of it, whereof he left little, save what his father gave him, unto posterity. He lieth buried likewise in Montgomery; the upper monument of the two placed in the chancel being erected for him. My great-great-grandfather, Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, was that incomparable hero who (in the history of Hall and Grafton, as it appears) twice passed through a great army of northern men alone, with his poll-axe in his hand, and returned without any mortal hurt, which is more than is famed of Amadis de Gaul, or the Knight of the Sun. I shall, besides this relation of Sir Richard Herbert's prowess in the

battle at Banbury or Edgecote Hill, — being the place where the late battle was fought, — deliver some traditions concerning him, which I have received from good hands ; one is, that the said Sir Richard Herbert, being employed, together with his brother William, Earl of Pembroke, to reduce certain* rebels in North Wales, Sir Richard Herbert besieged a principal person of them at Harlech Castle in Merionethshire ; the captain of this place had been a soldier in the wars of France, whereupon he said he had kept a castle in France so long that he made the old women in Wales talk of him ; and that he would keep the castle so long that he would make the old women in France talk of him ; and indeed, as the place was almost impregnable but by famine, Sir Richard Herbert was constrained to take him in by composition, he surrendering himself upon condition that Sir Richard Herbert should do what he could to save his life, which being accepted, Sir Richard brought him to King Edward the Fourth, desiring his highness to give him a pardon, since he yielded up a place of importance, which he might have kept longer, upon this hope ; but the king replying to Sir Richard Herbert that he had no power by his commission to pardon any, and therefore might, after the representation hereof to his majesty, safe deliver him up to justice, Sir Richard Herbert answered he had not

* It was an insurrection in the ninth year of Edward the Fourth, headed by Sir John Coniers and Robert Riddesdale, in favor of Henry the Sixth. This William, Earl of Pembroke, and his brother Sir Richard Herbert being sent against them, were to be joined by the Earl of Devonshire, but, a squabble happening between the two earls about quarters, the Earl of Devonshire separated from Pembroke, who, engaging the enemy at Danesmoore near Edgecote in Northamptonshire, was defeated and taken prisoner, with his brother, and both were put to death, with Richard Widville, Earl Rivers, father of the queen, by command of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, who had revolted from Edward.

yet done the best he could for him, and therefore most humbly desired his highness to do one of two things, either to put him again in the castle where he was, and command some other to take him out, or, if his highness would not do so, to take his life for the said captain's, that being the last proof he could give that he used his uttermost endeavor to save the said captain's life. The king, finding himself urged thus far, gave Sir Richard Herbert the life of the said captain, but withal he bestowed no other reward for his service.

The other history is that Sir Richard Herbert, together with his brother the Earl of Pembroke, being in Anglesey apprehending there seven brothers which had done many mischiefs and murders, in these times the Earl of Pembroke thinking it fit to root out so wicked a progeny, commanded them all to be hanged; whereupon the mother of them, coming to the Earl of Pembroke, upon her knees desired him to pardon two, or at leastwise one, of her said sons, affirming that the rest were sufficient to satisfy justice or example, which request also Sir Richard Herbert seconded; but the earl, finding them all equally guilty, said he could make no distinction betwixt them, and therefore commanded them to be executed together; at which the mother was so aggrieved that with a pair of woollen beads on her arms, for so the relation goeth, she on her knees cursed him, praying God's mischief might fall to him in the first battle he should make: the earl after this, coming with his brother to Edgecote field, as is before set down, after he had put his men in order to fight, found his brother Sir Richard Herbert in the head of his men, leaning upon his poll-axe in a kind of sad or pensive manner, *whereupon* the earl said, "What, doth thy great

body," for he was higher by the head than any one in the army, "apprehend anything that thou art so melancholy, or art thou weary with marching, that thou dost lean thus upon thy poll-axe?" Sir Richard Herbert replied that he was neither of both, whereof he should see the proof presently; "only I cannot but apprehend on your part, least the curse of the woman with the woollen beads fall upon you." This Sir Richard Herbert lieth buried in Abergavenny, in a sumptuous monument for those times, which still remains, whereas his brother, the Earl of Pembroke, being buried in Tintern Abbey, his monument together with the church lie now wholly defaced and ruined. This Earl of Pembroke had a younger son, which had a daughter which married the eldest son of the Earl of Worcester, who carried away the fair castle of Ragland, with many thousand pounds yearly from the heir male of that house, which was the second son of the said Earl of Pembroke, and ancestor of the family of St. Gillians, whose daughter and heir I after married, as shall be told in its place. And here it is very remarkable that the younger sons of the said Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Richard Herbert left their posterity after them, who in the person of myself and my wife united both houses again, which is the more memorable, that when the said Earl of Pembroke and Sir Richard Herbert were taken prisoners in defending the just cause of Edward the Fourth, at the battle above said, the earl never entreated that his own life might be saved, but his brother's, as it appears by the said history. So that joining of both houses together in my posterity ought to produce a perpetual obligation of friendship and mutual love in them one to another, since by these two brothers so brave

an example thereof was given, as seeming not to live or die but for one another.

My mother was Magdalen Newport, daughter of Sir Richard Newport and Margaret his wife, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Bromley, one of the privy council and executor of King Henry the Eighth, who surviving her husband gave rare testimonies of an incomparable piety to God, and love to her children, as being most assiduous and devout in her daily, both private and public, prayers, and so careful to provide for her posterity that though it was in her power to give her estate (which was very great) to whom she would, yet she continued still unmarried, and so provident for them that after she had bestowed all her daughters with sufficient portions upon very good neighboring families, she delivered up her estate and care of house-keeping to her eldest son Francis, when now she had for many years kept hospitality with that plenty and order as exceeded all either of her country or time; for, besides abundance of provision and good cheer for guests, which her son Sir Francis Newport continued, she used ever after dinner to distribute, with her own hands, to the poor, who resorted to her in great numbers, alms in money, to every one of them, more or less, as she thought they needed it. By these ancestors I am descended of Talbot, Devoreux, Gray, Corbet, and many other noble families, as may be seen in their matches, extant in the many fair coats the Newports bear. I could say much more of my ancestors of that side likewise, but that I should exceed my proposed scope. I shall therefore only say somewhat more of my mother, my brothers, and sisters; and for my mother, after she lived most virtuously and lovingly with her husband for many years, she after his death

erected a fair monument for him in Montgomery church; brought up her children carefully, and put them in good courses for making their fortunes, and, briefly, was that woman Dr. Donne hath described in his funeral sermon of her printed. The names of her children were, Edward, Richard, William, Charles, George, Henry, Thomas; her daughters were, Elizabeth, Margaret, Frances; of all whom I will say a little before I begin a narration of my own life, so I may pursue my intended purpose the more entirely.

My brother Richard, after he had been brought up in learning, went to the Low Countries, where he continued many years with much reputation, both in the wars, and for fighting single duels, which were many, insomuch that between both, he carried as I have been told, the scars of four and twenty wounds upon him to his grave, and lies buried in Bergen-opzoom. My brother William, being brought up likewise in learning, went afterwards to the wars in Denmark, where, fighting a single combat, and having his sword broken, he not only defended himself with that piece which remained, but, closing with his adversary, threw him down, and so held him until company came in; and then went to the wars in the Low Countries, but lived not long after; my brother Charles was fellow of New College, in Oxford, where he died young, after he had given great hopes of himself every way. My brother* George was so excellent a scholar that he was made

* He had studied foreign languages in hopes of rising to be secretary of state, but, being disappointed in his views at court, he took orders, became prebend of Lincoln, and rector of Bemerton near Salisbury. He died between 1630 and 1640. His poems were printed at London in 1635, under the title of "The Temple"; and his "Priest to the Temple," in 1652. Lord Bacon dedicated to him a translation of some psalms into English verse.

the public orator of the University in Cambridge, some of whose English works are extant, which, though they be rare in their kind, yet are far short of expressing those perfections he had in the Greek and Latin tongue, and all divine and human literature; his wife was most holy and exemplary, insomuch that about Salisbury, where he lived beneficed for many years, he was little less than sainted: (he was not exempt from passion and choler, being infirmities to which all our race is subject, but, that excepted, without reproach in his actions.) Henry, after he had been brought up in learning as the other brothers were, was sent by his friends into France, where he attained the language of that country in much perfection, after which time he came to court, and was made gentleman of the king's privy-chamber, and master of the revels, by which means, as also by a good marriage, he attained to great fortunes, for himself and posterity to enjoy: he also hath given several proofs of his courage in duels, and otherwise, being no less dexterous in the ways of the court, as having gotten much by it.

My brother Thomas was a posthumous, as being born some weeks after his father's death; he, also being brought up a while at school, was sent as a page to Sir Edward Cecil,* lord general of his majesty's auxiliary forces to the princes in Germany, and was particularly at the siege of Juliers, Anno Dom. 1610, where he showed such forwardness as no man in that great army before him was more adventurous on all occasions. Being returned from thence, he went to the East Indies under the command of Captain Joseph, who, in his way thither, meeting with a great Spanish

* Afterwards Viscount Wimbledon. See an account of him in "*The Royal and Noble Authors*."

ship, was unfortunately killed in fight with them; whereupon, his men being disheartened, my brother Thomas encouraged them to revenge the loss, and renewed the fight in that manner (as Sir John Smyth, governor of the East India Company, told me at several times) that they forced the Spanish ship to run aground, where the English shot her through and through so often that she ran herself aground, and was left wholly unserviceable. After which time he with the rest of the fleet came to Suratte, and from thence went with the merchants to the Great Mogul, where, after he had stayed about a twelvemonth, he returned with the same fleet back again to England. After this he went in the navy which King James sent to Argier, under the command of Sir Robert Mansell, where our men being in great want of money and victuals, and many ships scattering themselves to try whether they could obtain a prize whereby to relieve the whole fleet, it was his hap to meet with a ship, which he took, and in it to the value of eighteen hundred pounds, which it was thought saved the whole fleet from perishing: he conducted also Count Mansfeldt to the Low Countries in one of the king's ships, which being unfortunately cast away not far from the shore, the count together with his company saved themselves in a long boat or shallop, the benefit whereof my said brother refused to take for the present, as resolving to assist the master of the ship, who endeavored by all means to clear the ship from the danger; but, finding it impossible, he was the last man that saved himself in the long boat; the master thereof yet refusing to come away, so that he perished together with the ship. After this, he commanded one of the ships that were sent to bring the prince from Spain,

where, upon his return, there being a fight between the Low Countrymen and the Dunkirkers, the prince, who thought it was not for his dignity to suffer them to fight in his presence, commanded some of his ships to part them, whereupon my said brother with some other ships got betwixt them on either side, and shot so long that both parties were glad to desist. After he had brought the prince safely home, he was appointed to go with one of the king's ships to the narrow seas: he also fought divers times with great courage and success with divers men in single fight, sometimes hurting and disarming his adversary, and sometimes driving him away: after all these proofs given of himself, he expected some great command, but, finding himself as he thought undervalued, he retired to a private and melancholy life, being much discontented to find others preferred to him; in which sullen humor having lived many years, he died and was buried in London, in St. Martin's near Charing Cross, so that of all my brothers none survives but Henry.

I shall now come to myself. I was born at Eyton in Shropshire (being a house which together with fair lands descended upon the Newports by my said grandmother), between the hours of twelve and one of the clock in the morning; my infancy was very sickly, my head continually purging itself very much by my ears, whereupon also it was so long before I began to speak that many thought I should be ever dumb: the very farthest thing I remember is that when I understood what was said by others I did yet forbear to speak, lest I should utter something that was imperfect or impertinent; when I came to talk, one of the farthest inquiries I made was how I came into this

world. I told my nurse, keeper, and others, I found myself here indeed, but from what cause or beginning or by what means I could not imagine; but for this as I was laughed at by nurse and some other women that were then present, so I was wondered at by others, who said they never heard a child but myself ask that question; upon which, when I came to riper years, I made this observation, which afterwards a little comforted me, that as I found myself in possession of this life without knowing anything of the pangs and throes my mother suffered, when yet doubtless they did no less press and afflict me than her, so I hope my soul shall pass to a better life than this without being sensible of the anguish and pains my body shall feel in death. For, as I believe then I shall be transmitted to a more happy estate by God's great grace, I am confident I shall no more know how I came out of this world than how I came into it.

And certainly since in my mother's womb this plastica or formatrix which formed my eyes, ears, and other senses, did not intend them for that dark and noisome place, but as being conscious of a better life, made them as fitting organs to apprehend and perceive those things which should occur in this world, so I believe since my coming into this world my soul hath formed or produced certain faculties which are almost as useless for this life as the above-named senses were for the mother's womb; and these faculties are hope, faith, love, and joy, since they never rest or fix upon any transitory or perishing object in this world, as extending themselves to something farther than can be here given, and indeed acquiesce only in the perfect, eternal, and infinite: I confess they are of some use here, yet I appeal to everybody whether any worldly felicity did

so satisfy their hope here, that they did not wish and hope for something more excellent ; or whether they had ever that faith in their own wisdom, or in the help of man, that they were not constrained to have recourse to some diviner and superior power than they could find on earth, to relieve them in their danger or necessity ; whether ever they could place their love on any earthly beauty, that it did not fade and wither, if not frustrate or deceive them ; or whether ever their joy was so consummate in anything they delighted in, that they did not want much more than it, or indeed this world can afford, to make them happy. The proper objects of these faculties, therefore, though framed or at least appearing in this world, is God only, upon whom faith, hope, and love were never placed in vain, or remain long unrequited : but to leave these discourses and come to my childhood again ; I remember this deflection at my ears above-mentioned continued in that violence that my friends did not think fit to teach me so much as my alphabet until I was seven years old, at which time my deflection ceased, and left me free of the disease my ancestors were subject unto, being the epilepsy. My schoolmaster, in the house of my said lady grandmother, began then to teach me the alphabet, and afterwards grammar, and other books commonly read in schools, in which I profited so much that upon this theme, "*Audaces fortuna juvat*," I made an oration of a sheet of paper, and fifty or sixty verses in the space of one day. I remember in that time I was corrected sometimes for going to cuffs with two school-fellows, being both older than myself. but never for telling a lie or any other fault, my natural disposition and inclination being so contrary to all *falsehood* that, being demanded whether I had com-

mitted any fault whereof I might be justly suspected, I did use ever to confess it freely, and thereupon choosing rather to suffer correction than to stain my mind with telling a lie, which I did judge then no time could ever deface; and I can affirm to all the world truly, that from my first infancy to this hour I told not willingly anything that was false, my soul naturally having an antipathy to lying and deceit. After I had attained the age of nine, during all which time I lived in my said lady grandmother's house at Eyton, my parents thought fit to send me to some place where I might learn the Welsh tongue, as believing it necessary to enable me to treat with those of my friends and tenants who understood no other language, whereupon I was recommended to Mr. Edward Thellwall, of Placeward, in Denbighshire; this gentleman I must remember with honor, as having of himself acquired the exact knowledge of Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, and all other learning, having for that purpose neither gone beyond seas, nor so much as had the benefit of any universities. Besides, he was of that rare temper in governing his choler that I never saw him angry during the time of my stay there, and have heard so much of him for many years before. When occasion of offence was given him I have seen him seldom redden in the face, and after remain for a while silent, but when he spoke his words were so calm and gentle, that I found he had digested his choler, although yet I confess I could never attain that perfection, as being subject ever to choler and passion more than I ought, and generally to speak my mind freely, and indeed rather to imitate those who, having fire within doors, choose rather to give it vent than suffer it to burn the house. I commend yet much more the manner

of Mr. Thellwall, and certainly he that can forbear speaking for some while will remit much of his passion, but as I could not learn much of him in this kind, so I did as little profit in learning the Welsh or any other of those languages that worthy gentleman understood, as having a tertian ague for the most part of nine months, which was all the time I stayed in his house; having recovered my strength again, I was sent, being about the age of ten, to be taught by one Mr. Newton, at Diddlebury, in Shropshire, where, in the space of less than two years, I not only recovered all I had lost in my sickness, but attained to the knowledge of the Greek tongue and logic, insomuch that at twelve years old my parents thought fit to send me to Oxford to University College, where I remember to have disputed at my first coming in logic, and to have made in Greek the exercises required in that college, oftener than in Latin.

I had not been many months in the university, but news was brought me of my father's death, his sickness being a lethargy, caros, or coma vigilans, which continued long upon him; he seemed at last to die without much pain, although in his senses. Upon opinion given by physicians that his disease was mortal, my mother thought fit to send for me home, and presently after my father's death to desire her brother, Sir Francis Newport, to haste to London to obtain my wardship for his and her use jointly, which he obtained. Shortly after I was sent again to my studies in Oxford, where I had not been long but that an overture for a match with the daughter and heir of Sir William Herbert, of St. Gillians, was made, the occasion whereof was this: Sir William Herbert being heir male to the old Earl of Pembroke above-mentioned, by

a younger son of his (for the eldest son had a daughter who carried away those great possessions the Earl of Worcester now holds in Monmouthshire, as I said before), having one only daughter surviving, made a will whereby he estated all his possessions in Monmouthshire and Ireland upon his said daughter, upon conditions she married one of the surname of Herbert, otherwise the said lands to descend to the heirs male of the said Sir William; and his daughter to have only a small portion out of the lands he had in Anglesey and Carnarvonshire. His lands being thus settled, Sir William died shortly afterwards. He was a man much conversant with books, and especially given to the study of divinity, inso much that he writ an exposition upon the revelations which is printed, although some thought he was as far from finding the sense thereof as he was from attaining the philosopher's stone, which was another part of his study; howsoever he was very understanding in all other things, he was noted yet to be of a very high mind, but I can say little of him, as having never seen his person, nor otherwise had much information concerning him. His daughter and heir, called Mary, after her father died, continued unmarried till she was one-and-twenty, none of the Herberts appearing in all that time who either in age or fortune was fit to match her: about this time I had attained the age of fifteen, and a match at last being proposed, yet, notwithstanding the disparity of years betwixt us, upon the eight-and-twentieth of February, 1598, in the house of Eyton, where the same man, Vicar of ———, married my father and mother, christened and married me, I espoused her. Not long after my marriage, I went again to Oxford, together with my wife and mother, who took a house and lived for some cer-

tain time there; and I now followed my book more close than ever, in which course I continued till I attained about the age of eighteen, when my mother took a house in London, between which place and Montgomery Castle I passed my time till I came to the age of one-and-twenty, having in that space divers children, I having now none remaining but Beatrice, Richard, and Edward. During this time of living in the university or at home, I did without any master or teacher attain the knowledge of the French, Italian, and Spanish languages, by the help of some books in Latin or English translated into those idioms, and the dictionaries of those several languages; I attained also to sing my part at first sight in music, and to play on the lute with very little or almost no teaching. My intention in learning languages being to make myself a citizen of the world as far as it were possible; and my learning of music was for this end, that I might entertain myself at home, and together refresh my mind after my studies, to which I was exceedingly inclined, and that I might not need the company of young men, in whom I observed in those times much ill example and debauchery.

Being gotten thus far into my age, I shall give some observations concerning ordinary education, even from the first infancy till the departure from the university, as being desirous together with the narration of my life to deliver such rules as I conceive may be useful to my posterity.

When children go to school they should have one to attend them who may take care of their manners as well as the schoolmaster doth of their learning, for *among boys* all vice is easily learned, and here I could *wish it constantly* observed, that neither the master

should correct him for faults of his manners, nor his governor for manners for the faults in his learning. After the alphabet is taught, I like well the shortest and clearest grammars, and such books into which all the Greek and Latin words are severally contrived, in which kind one Comenus hath given an example; this being done, it would be much better to proceed with Greek authors than with Latin, for as it is as easy to learn at first the one as the other, it would be much better to give the first impressions into the child's memory of those things which are more rare than usual: therefore I would have them begin at Greek first, and the rather that there is not that art in the world wherein the Greeks have not excelled and gone before others; so that when you look upon philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and briefly all learning, the Greeks have exceeded all nations. When he shall be ready to go to the university, it will be fit also his governor for manners go along with him, it being the frail nature of youth as they grow to ripeness in age to be more capable of doing ill, unless their manners be well guided, and themselves by degrees habituated in virtue, with which if once they acquaint themselves they will find more pleasure in it than ever they can do in vice, since everybody loves virtuous persons, whereas the vicious do scarce love one another; for this purpose it will be necessary that you keep the company of grave, learned men, who are of good reputation, and hear rather what they say, and follow what they do than follow the examples of young, wild, and rash persons; and certainly of those two parts which are to be acquired in youth, whereof one is goodness and *virtuous manners*, the other learning and knowledge, *I shall so much prefer the first before the second, as I*

shall ever think virtue, accompanied with ordinary discretion, will make his way better both to happiness in this world and the next, than any puffed knowledge which would cause him to be insolent and vainglorious, or minister, as it were, arms and advantages to him for doing a mischief; so that it is pity that wicked dispositions should have knowledge to actuate their ill intentions, or courage to maintain them, that fortitude which should defend all a man's virtues being never well employed to defend his humors, passions, or vices.

I do not approve for elder brothers that course of study which is ordinary used in the university, which is, if their parents perchance intend they shall stay three, four, or five years, to employ the said time as if they meant to proceed masters of art and doctors in some science, for which purpose their tutors commonly spend much time in teaching them the subtilities of logic, which, as it is usually practised, enables them for little more than to be excellent wranglers, which art, though it may be tolerable in a mercenary lawyer; I can by no means commend in a sober and well-governed gentleman. I approve much those parts of logic which teach men to deduce their proofs from firm and undoubted principles, and show men to distinguish betwixt truth and falsehood, and help them to discover fallacies, sophisms, and that which the schoolmen call vicious argumentations, concerning which I shall not here enter into a long discourse. So much of logic as may serve for this purpose being acquired, some good sum of philosophy may be learned, which may teach him both the ground of the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy. After which it will not be amiss to read the "*Idea Medicinæ Philosophicæ*," written by Severinus Danus, there being many things

considerable concerning the Paracelsian principles written in that book which are not to be found in former writers; it will not be amiss also to read over Franciscus Patricius and Tilesius, who have examined and controverted the ordinary peripatetic doctrine, all which may be performed in one year, that term being enough for philosophy as I conceive, and six months for logic, for I am confident a man may have quickly more than he needs of these two arts. These being attained, it will be requisite to study geography with exactness, so much as may teach a man the situation of all countries in the whole world, together with which it will be fit to learn something concerning the governments, manners, religions, either ancient or new, as also the interests of states and relations in amity, or strength in which they stand to their neighbors; it will be necessary also at the same time to learn the use of the celestial globe, the studies of both globes being complicated and joined together. I do not conceive yet the knowledge of judicial astrology so necessary, but only for general predictions; particular events being neither intended by nor collected out of the stars. It will be also fit to learn arithmetic and geometry in some good measure, but especially arithmetic, it being most useful for many purposes, and among the rest for keeping accounts, whereof here is much use: as for the knowledge of lines, superficies, and bodies, though it be a science of much certainty and demonstration, it is not much useful for a gentleman unless it be to understand fortifications, the knowledge whereof is worthy of those who intend the wars, though yet he must remember that whatsoever art doth in way of defence, art likewise in way of assailing can destroy. This study hath cost me much labor, but as yet I could never find

how any place could be so fortified but that there were means in certain opposite lines to prevent or subvert all that could be done in that kind. It will become a gentleman to have some knowledge in medicine, especially the diagnostic part, whereby he may take timely notice of a disease, and by that means timely prevent it, as also the prognostic part, whereby he may judge of the symptoms either increasing or decreasing in the disease, as also concerning the crisis or indication thereof.

This art will get a gentleman not only much knowledge but much credit, since seeing any sick body he will be able to tell in all human probability whether he shall recover, or if he shall die of the disease, to tell what signs shall go before and what the conclusion will be ; it will become him also to know not only the ingredients but doses of certain cathartic or purging, emetic or vomitive medicines, specific or choleric, melancholic or phlegmatic constitutions, phlebotomy being only necessary for those who abound in blood : besides, I would have a gentleman know how to make these medicines himself, and afterwards prepare them with his own hands, it being the manner of apothecaries so frequently to put in the succedanea that no man is sure to find with them medicines made with the true drugs which ought to enter into the composition when it is exotic or rare ; or when they are extant in the shop, no man can be assured that the said drugs are not rotten, or that they have not lost their natural force and virtue. I have studied this art very much also, and have in case of extremity ministered physic with that success which is strange, whereof I shall give two or three examples : Richard Griffiths of Sutton, my servant, being sick of a malignant pestilent

fever, and tried in vain all our country physicians could do, I was entreated to see him, when as yet he had neither eaten, drank, slept, nor known anybody for the space of six or seven days, whereupon demanding whether the physicians had given him over, and it being answered unto me that they had, I said it would not be amiss to give him the quantity of a hazel-nut of a certain rare receipt which I had, assuring that if anything in the world could recover him, that would ; of which I was so confident that I would come the next day at four of the clock in the afternoon unto him, and at that time I doubted not but they should find signs of amendment, provided they should put the doses I gave them, being about the bigness of a nut, down his throat, which being done with much difficulty, I came the morrow after at the hour appointed, when to the wonder of his family he knew me and asked for some broth, and not long after recovered. My cousin Athelston Owen, also of Rhue Sayson, having an hydrocephale also in that extremity that his eyes began to start out of his head, and his tongue to come out of his mouth, and his whole head finally exceeding its natural proportion, insomuch that his physicians likewise left him, I prescribed to him the decoction of two diuretic roots, which after he had drank four or five days, his head by degrees returned to its ancient figure, and all other signs of health appeared, whereupon also he wrote a letter to me that he was so suddenly and perfectly restored to his former health, that it seemed more like a miracle than a cure ; for those are the very words in the letter he sent me.

Having thus passed over all human literature, it will be fit to say something of moral virtues and theological learning. As for the first, since the Christians and the

heathens are in a manner agreed concerning the definitions of virtues, it would not be inconvenient to begin with those definitions which Aristotle in his "Morals" hath given, as being confirmed for the most part by the Platonics, Stoics, and other philosophers, and in general by the Christian Church, as well as all nations in the world whatsoever; they being doctrines imprinted in the soul in its first original, and containing the principal and first notices by which man may attain his happiness here or hereafter; there being no man that is given to vice that doth not find much opposition both in his own conscience and in the religion and law as taught elsewhere; and this I dare say, that a virtuous man may not only go securely through all the religions but all the laws in the world, and whatsoever obstructions he meet, obtain both an inward peace and outward welcome among all with whom he shall negotiate or converse; this virtue, therefore, I shall recommend to my posterity as the greatest perfection he can attain unto in this life, and the pledge of eternal happiness hereafter, there being none that can justly hope of a union with the supreme God that doth not come as near to him in this life in virtue and goodness as he can, so that if human frailty do interrupt this union by committing faults that make him incapable of his everlasting happiness, it will be fit by a serious repentance to expiate and emaculate those faults, and for the rest trust to the mercy of God his Creator, Redeemer, and Preserver, who being our Father, and knowing well in what a weak condition through infirmities we are, will I doubt not commiserate those transgressions we commit when they are done without desire to offend his divine majesty, and together rectify our understanding through his grace, since we com-

monly sin through no other cause, but that we mistook a true good for that which was only apparent, and so were deceived by making an undue election in the objects proposed to us, wherein though it will be fit for every man to confess that he hath offended an infinite majesty and power, yet as upon better consideration he finds he did not mean infinitely to offend, there will be just reason to believe that God will not inflict an infinite punishment upon him if he be truly penitent, so that his justice may be satisfied, if not with man's repentance yet at least with some temporal punishment here or hereafter, such as may be proportionable to the offence; though I cannot deny but when man would infinitely offend God in a despiteful and contemptuous way, it will be but just that he suffer an infinite punishment: but as I hope none are so wicked as to sin purposely and with a high hand against the eternal majesty of God, so when they shall commit any sins out of frailty, I shall believe, either that unless they be finally impenitent, and (as they say, sold ingenuously over to sin) God's mercy will accept of their endeavors to return into a right way, and so make their peace with him by all those good means that are possible. Having thus recommended the learning of moral philosophy and practice of virtue, as the most necessary knowledge and useful exercise of man's life, I shall observe that even in the employing of our virtues discretion is required, for every virtue is not promiscuously to be used, but such only as is proper for the present occasion. Therefore, though a wary and discreet wisdom be most useful where no imminent danger appears, yet where an enemy draws his sword against you, you shall have most use of fortitude, prevention being too late, when the danger is so pressing.

On the other side, there is no occasion to use your fortitude against wrongs done by women or children, or ignorant persons, that I may say nothing of those that are much your superiors, who are magistrates, etc., since you might by a discreet wisdom have declined the injury, or when it were too late to do so, you may with more equal mind support that which is done, either by authority in the one or frailty in the other. And certainly to such kind of persons forgiveness will be proper; in which kind I am confident no man of my time hath exceeded me; for though whensoever my honor hath been engaged, no man hath ever been more forward to hazard his life, yet where with my honor I could forgive, I never used revenge, as leaving it always to God, who, the less I punish mine enemies, will inflict* so much the more punishment on them; and to this forgiveness of others three considerations have especially invited me:—

1. That he that cannot forgive others breaks the bridge over which he must pass himself, for every man had need to be forgiven.

2. That when a man wants or comes short of an entire and accomplished virtue, our defects may be supplied this way, since the forgiving of evil deed in others

)* This is a very unchristian reason for pardoning our enemies, and can by no means be properly called forgiveness. Is it forgiveness to remit a punishment on the hope of its being doubled? One of the most exceptionable passages in Shakspeare is the horrid reflection of Hamlet, that he will not kill the king at his prayers, lest he send him to heaven,—and so am I revenged? Such sentiments should always be marked and condemned, especially in authors who certainly do not mean to preach up malice and revenge. His lordship's other reasons are better founded, though still selfish. He does not appear a humane philosopher, till he owns that he continued to forgive, though he found that it encouraged new injuries. The beauty of virtue consists in doing right, though to *one's own prejudice*.

amounteth to no less than virtue in us ; that therefore it may not be unaptly called the paying our debts with another man's money.

3. That it is the most necessary and proper work of every man, for though when I do not a just thing, or a charitable, or a wise, another man may do it for me, yet no man can forgive my enemy but myself, and these have been the chief motives for which I have been ever inclined to forgiveness ; whereof though I have rarely found other effect than that my servants, tenants, and neighbors have thereupon more frequently offended me, yet at least I have had within me an inward peace and comfort thereby, since I can truly say, nothing ever gave my mind more ease than when I had forgiven my enemies, which freed me from many cares and perturbations, which otherwise would have molested me.

And this likewise brings in another rule concerning the use of virtues, which is, that you are not to use justice where mercy is most proper, as, on the other side, a foolish pity is not to be preferred before that which is just and necessary for good example. So likewise liberality is not to be used where parsimony or frugality is more requisite ; as, on the other side, it will be but a sordid thing in a gentleman to spare, where expending of money would acquire unto him advantage, credit, or honor ; and this rule in general ought to be practised, that the virtue requisite to the occasion is ever to be produced, as the most opportune and necessary. That therefore wisdom is the soul of all virtues, giving them as unto her members, life and motion, and so necessary in every action, that whosoever by the benefit of true wisdom makes use of the right virtue, on all emergent occasions, I dare say would

never be constrained to have recourse to vice, whereby it appears that every virtue is not to be employed indifferently, but that only which is proper for the business in question; among which yet temperance seems so universally requisite, that some part of it at least will be a necessary ingredient in all human actions, since there may be an excess even in religious worship, at those times when other duties are required at our hands. After all, moral virtues are learned and directed to the service and glory of God, as the principal end and use of them.

It would be fit that some time be spent in learning rhetoric or oratory, to the intent that upon all occasions you may express yourself with eloquence and grace; for as it is not enough for a man to have a diamond unless it is polished and cut out into its due angles, and a foil be set underneath, whereby it may the better transmit and vibrate its native lustre and rays, so it will not be sufficient for a man to have a great understanding in all matters, unless the said understanding be not only polished and clear, but underset and holpen a little with those figures, tropes, and colors which rhetoric affords, where there is use of persuasion. I can by no means yet commend an affected eloquence, there being nothing so pedantic, or indeed that would give more suspicion that the truth is not intended, than to use overmuch the common forms prescribed in schools. It is well said by them, that there are two parts of eloquence necessary and recommendable; one is, to speak hard things plainly, so that when a knotty or intricate business, having no method or coherence in its parts, shall be presented, it *will be a singular part of oratory to take those parts asunder, set them together aptly, and so exhibit them*

to the understanding. And this part of rhetoric I much commend to everybody, there being no true use of speech but to make things clear, perspicuous, and manifest, which otherwise would be perplexed, doubtful, and obscure.

The other part of oratory is to speak common things ingeniously or wittily, there being no little vigor and force added to words, when they are delivered in a neat and fine way, and somewhat out of the ordinary road, common and dull language relishing more of the clown than the gentleman. But herein also affectation must be avoided, it being better for a man by a native and clear eloquence to express himself, than by those words which may smell either of the lamp or ink-horn; so that in general one may observe that men who fortify and uphold their speeches with strong and evident reasons, have ever operated more on the minds of the auditors than those who have made rhetorical excursions.

It will be better for a man who is doubtful of his pay to take an ordinary silver piece with its due stamp upon it, than an extraordinary gilded piece which may perchance contain a baser metal under it; and prefer a well-favored, wholesome woman, though with a tawny complexion, before a besmeared and painted face.

It is a general note, that a man's wit is best shown in his answer, and his valor in his defence, that therefore as men learn in fencing how to ward all blows and thrusts which are or can be made against them, so it will be fitting to debate and resolve beforehand what you are to say or do upon any affront given you, lest otherwise you should be surprised. Aristotle hath written a book of rhetoric, a work in my opinion not

inferior to his best pieces, whom therefore with Cicero "de Oratore," as also Quintilian, you may read for your instruction how to speak, neither of which two yet I can think so exact in their orations but that a middle style will be of more efficacy; Cicero in my opinion being too long and tedious, and Quintilian too short and concise.

Having thus by moral philosophy enabled yourself to all that wisdom and goodness which is requisite to direct you in all your particular actions, it will be fit now to think how you are to behave yourself as a public person, or member of the commonwealth and kingdom wherein you live, as also to look into those principles and grounds upon which government is framed, it being manifest in nature that the wise doth easily govern the foolish, and the strong master the weak; so that he that could attain most wisdom and power would quickly rule his fellows: for proof whereof, one may observe that a king is sick during that time the physicians govern him, and in day of battle an expert general appoints the king a place in which he shall stand, which was anciently the office of the constables de France. In law, also, the judge is in a sort superior to his king as long as he judgeth betwixt him and his people. In divinity, also, he to whom the king commits the charge of his conscience is his superior in that particular. All which instances may sufficiently prove that in many cases the wiser governs or commands one less wise than himself, unless a wilful obstinacy be interposed; in which case recourse must be had to strength where obedience is necessary.

The exercises I chiefly used, and most recommend to my posterity, were riding the great horse, and fer-

cing, in which arts I had excellent masters, English, French, and Italian; as for dancing, I could never find leisure enough to learn it, as employing my mind always in acquiring of some art or science more useful; howbeit I shall wish these three exercises learned in this order:—

That dancing may be learned first, as that which doth fashion the body, gives one a good presence in, and address to all companies, since it disposeth the limbs to a kind of *souplesse* (as the Frenchmen call it) and agility, insomuch as they seem to have the use of their legs, arms, and bodies more than any others, who, standing stiff and stark in their postures, seem as if they were taken in their joints, or had not the perfect use of their members. I speak not this yet as if I would have a youth never stand still in company, but only that when he hath occasion to stir, his motions may be comely and graceful; that he may learn to know how to come in and go out of a room where company is; how to make courtesies handsomely, according to the several degrees of persons he shall encounter; how to put off and hold his hat, all which, and many other things which become men, are taught by the more accurate dancing-masters in France.

The next exercise a young man should learn, but not before he is eleven or twelve years of age, is fencing; for the attaining of which the Frenchman's rule is excellent, *bon pied bon œil*, by which to teach men how far they may stretch out their feet when they would make a thrust against their enemy, lest either should overstride themselves, or, not striding far enough, fail to bring the point of their weapon home: the second part of his direction adviseth the scholar to keep a fixed eye upon the point of his enemy's sword, to the

intent he may both put by or ward the blows and thrusts made against him, and together direct the point of his sword upon some part of his enemy that lieth naked and open to him.

The good fencing-masters, in France especially, when they present a foil or fleuret to their scholars, tell him it hath two parts, one of which he calleth the fort or strong, and the other the foible or weak; with the fort or strong, which extends from the part of the hilt next the sword, about a third part of the whole length, thereof he teacheth his scholars to defend themselves, and put by and ward the thrusts and blows of his enemy, and with the other two-third parts to strike or thrust as he shall see occasion; which rule also teacheth how to strike or thrust high or low as his enemy doth, and briefly to take his measure and time upon his adversary's motions, whereby he may both defend himself or offend his adversary, of which I have had much experiment and use both in the fleuret or foil, as also when I fought in good earnest with many persons at one and the same time, as will appear in the sequel of my life. And, indeed, I think I shall not speak vaingloriously of myself if I say that no man understood the use of his weapon better than I did, or hath more dexterously prevailed himself thereof on all occasions; since I found no man could be hurt but through some error in fencing.

I spent much time also in learning to ride the great horse, that creature being made above all others for the service of man, as giving his rider all the advantages of which he is capable, while sometimes he gives him strength, sometimes agility or motion for the overcoming of his enemy, in so much that a good rider on a good horse is as much above himself and others as

this world can make him ; the rule for graceful riding is, that a man hold his eyes always betwixt the two ears, and his rod over the left ear of his horse, which he is to use for turning him every way, helping himself with his left foot, and rod upon the left part of his neck, to make his horse turn on the right hand, and with the right foot and help of his rod also (if needs be) to turn him on the left hand, but this is to be used rather when one would make a horse understand these motions than when he is a ready horse, the foot and stirrup alone applied to either shoulder being sufficient, with the help of the reins, to make him turn any way : that a rider thus may have the use of his sword, or when it is requisite only to make a horse go sideways, it will be enough to keep the reins equal in his hand, and with the flat of his leg and foot together, and a touch upon the shoulder of the horse with the stirrup, to make him go sideward either way without either advancing forward or returning backwards.

The most useful aer, as the Frenchmen term it, is *terrerr* ; the *courbettes*, *cabrioës*, or *un pas et un sault*, being fitter for horses of parade and triumph than for soldiers, yet I cannot deny but a *demivolte* with *courbettes*, so that they be not too high, may be useful in a fight or *mêlée*, for, as Labroue hath it in his book of horsemanship, Monsieur de Montmorency, having a horse that was excellent in performing the *demivolte*, did with his sword strike down two adversaries from their horses in a tourney, where divers of the prime gallants of France did meet ; for taking his time when the horse was in the height of his *courbette*, and discharging a blow, then his sword fell with such weight and force upon the two cavaliers one after another, that he struck them from their horses to the ground.

The manner of fighting a duel on horseback I was taught thus; we had each of us a reasonable stiff riding rod in our hands about the length of a sword, and so rode one against the other, he as the more expert sat still to pass me, and then to get behind me, and after to turn with his right hand upon my left side with his rod, that so he might hit me with the point thereof in the body, and he that can do this handsomely is sure to overcome his adversary, it being impossible to bring his sword about enough to defend himself or offend the assailant; and to get this advantage, which they call, in French, *gagner la croupe*, nothing is so useful as to make a horse go only sideward until his adversary be past him, since he will by this means avoid his adversary's blow or thrust, and on a sudden get on the left hand of his adversary in the manner I formerly related: but of this art let Labroue and Pluvinel* be read, who are excellent masters in that art, of whom I must confess I learned much, although to speak ingenuously my breaking two or three colts, and teaching them afterwards those aers of which they were most capable, taught me both what I was to do, and made me see mine errors, more than all their precepts.

To make a horse fit for the wars and embolden him against all terrors, these inventions are useful: to beat a drum out of the stable first, and then give him his provender, then beat a drum in the stable by degrees, and then give him his provender upon the drum: when

* Antoine de Pluvinel, principal Ecuyer de Louis treize, Roi de France. He published a very fine folio, in French and Dutch, entitled "*Instruction du Roi en l'exercice de monter à cheval*," Paris, 1619. It consists of dialogues between the young king, the Duc de Bellegarde, and himself; and is adorned with a great number of beautiful cuts by Crispin Pass, exhibiting the whole system of the manège, and with many portraits of the great and remarkable men of that court.

he is acquainted herewith sufficiently, you must shoot off a pistol out of the stable, before he hath his provender; then you may shoot off a pistol in the stable, and so by degrees bring it as near to him as you can, till he be acquainted with the pistol, likewise remembering still after every shot to give him more provender; you must also cause his groom to put on bright armor, and so to rub his heels and dress him: you must also present a sword before him in the said armor, and when you have done, give him still some more provender: lastly, his rider must bring his horse forth into the open field, where a bright armor must be fastened upon a stake and set forth in the likeness of an armed man as much as possible, which being done, the rider must put his horse on until he make him not only approach the said image, but throw it down, which being done, you must be sure to give him some provender, that he may be encouraged to do the like against an adversary in battle. It will be good also that two men do hold up a cloak betwixt them in a field, and then the rider to put the horse to it until he leap over, which cloak also they may raise as they see occasion, when the horse is able to leap so high. You shall do well also to use your horse to swimming, which you may do either by trailing him after you at the tail of a boat, in a good river, holding him by the head at the length of the bridle, or by putting a good swimmer in a linen waistcoat and breeches upon him.

It will be fit for a gentleman also to learn to swim, unless he be given to cramps and convulsions; howbeit, I must confess in my own particular that I cannot swim, for as I was once in danger of drowning by learning to swim, my mother upon her blessing charged me never to learn swimming, telling me farther that

she had heard of more drowned than saved by it, which reason though it did not prevail with me, yet her commandment did. It will be good also for a gentleman to learn to leap, wrestle, and vault on horseback, they being all of them qualities of great use. I do much approve likewise of shooting in the long bow, as being both a healthful exercise, and useful for the wars, notwithstanding all that our firemen speak against it : for, bring a hundred archers against so many musketeers, I say, if the archer comes within his distance, he will not only make two shoots but two hits for one.

The exercises I do not approve of, are riding of running horses, there being much cheating in that kind ; neither do I see why a brave man should delight in a creature whose chief use is to help him to run away. I do not much like of hunting horses, that exercise taking up more time than can be spared from a man studious to get knowledge : it is enough therefore to know the sport, if there be any in it, without making it an ordinary practice : and indeed of the two, hawking is the better, because less time is spent in it : and upon these terms also I can allow a little bowling, so that the company be choice and good.

The exercises I wholly condemn are dicing and carding, especially if you play for any great sum of money, or spend any time in them, or use to come to meetings or dicing-houses, where cheaters meet and cozen young gentlemen of all their money. I could say much more concerning all these points of education, and particularly concerning the discreet civility which is to be observed in communication either with friends or strangers, but this work would grow too big, and that many precepts conducing thereunto may be had in Guazzo "*de la Civile Conversation*" and Galetus "*de Moribus*."

It would also deserve a particular lecture, or recherche, how one ought to behave himself with children, servants, tenants, and neighbors; and I am confident that precepts in this point will be found more useful to young gentlemen than all the subtilities of schools: I confess I have collected many things to this purpose, which I forbear to set down here, because (if God grant me life and health) I intend to make a little treatise concerning these points; I shall return now to the narrative of mine own history.

When I had attained the age betwixt eighteen or nineteen years, my mother, together with myself and wife, removed up to London, where we took house and kept a greater family than became either my mother's widow's estate or such young beginners as we were, especially since six brothers and three sisters were to be provided for, my father having made either no will, or such an imperfect one that it was not proved. My mother, though she had all my father's leases and goods, which were of great value, yet she desired me to undertake that burden of providing for my brothers and sisters, which, to gratify my mother as well as those so near me, I was voluntarily content to provide thus far as to give my six brothers thirty pounds apiece yearly during their lives, and my three sisters one thousand pounds apiece, which portions married them to those I have above mentioned; (my younger sister indeed might have been married to a far greater fortune, had not the overthwartness of some neighbors interrupted it.)

About the year of our Lord 1600 I came to London, shortly after which the attempt of the Earl of Essex, related in our history, followed, which I had rather were seen in the writers of that argument than here. Not long after this, curiosity rather than ambition brought me

to court; and as it was the manner of those times for all men to kneel down before the great queen Elizabeth, who then reigned, I was likewise upon my knees in the presence-chamber when she passed by to the chapel at Whitehall. As soon as she saw me she stopped, and, swearing her usual oath, demanded, "Who is this?" Everybody there present looked upon me, but no man knew me, till Sir James Croft, a pensioner, finding the queen stayed, returned back and told who I was, and that I had married Sir William Herbert of St. Gillian's daughter: the queen hereupon looked attentively upon me, and, swearing again her ordinary oath, said, "It is a pity he was married so young," and thereupon gave her hand to kiss twice, both times gently clapping me on the cheek. I remember little more of myself, but that from that time until King James's coming to the crown, I had a son which died shortly afterwards, and that I intended my studies seriously, the more I learnt out of my books adding still a desire to know more.

King James being now acknowledged king, and coming towards London, I thought fit to meet his majesty at Burley near Stanford; shortly after I was made Knight of the Bath, with the usual ceremonies belonging to that ancient order. I could tell how much my person was commended by the lords and ladies that came to see the solemnity then used, but I shall flatter myself too much if I believed it.

I must not forget yet the ancient custom, being that some principal person was to put on the right spur of those the king had appointed to receive that dignity; the Earl of Shrewsbury, seeing my esquire there with my spur in his hand, voluntarily came to me and said, "Cousin, I believe you will be a good knight, and

therefore I will put on your spur"; whereupon, after my most humble thanks for so great a favor, I held up my leg against the wall, and he put on my spur.

There is another custom likewise, that the knights the first day wear the gown of some religious order, and the night following to be bathed; after which they take an oath never to sit in place where injustice should be done but they shall right it to the uttermost of their power, and particularly ladies and gentlewomen that shall be wronged in their honor, if they demand assistance; and many other points, not unlike the romances of Knight Errant.

The second day to wear robes of crimson taffeta (in which habit I am painted in my study), and so to ride from St. James's to Whitehall with our esquires before us, and the third day to wear a gown of purple satin, upon the left sleeve whereof is fastened certain strings weaved of white silk and gold tied in a knot, and tassels to it of the same; which all the knights are obliged to wear until they have done something famous in arms, or till some lady of honor take it off, and fasten it on her sleeve, saying, "I will answer he shall prove a good knight." I had not long worn this string, but a principal lady of the court, and certainly in most men's opinion the handsomest, took mine off, and said she would pledge her honor for mine.

Shortly after this I intended to go with Charles Earl of Nottingham, the lord admiral, who went to Spain to take the king's oath for confirmation of the articles of peace betwixt the two crowns; howbeit by the industry of some near me, who desired to stay me at home, I was hindered, and instead of going that voyage, was made sheriff of Montgomeryshire, concerning which I will say no more, but that I bestowed the place of

under sheriff, as also other places in my gifts, freely, without either taking gift or reward; which custom also I have observed throughout the whole course of my life, insomuch that when I was ambassador in France and might have had great presents, which former ambassadors accepted, for doing lawful courtesies to merchants and others, yet no gratuity, upon what terms soever, could ever be fastened upon me.

This public duty did not hinder me yet to follow my beloved studies in a country life for the most part; though sometimes also I resorted to court, without yet that I had any ambition there, and much less was tainted with those corrupt delights incident to the times.

About the year 1608 my two daughters, called Beatrice and Florence, who lived not yet long after, and one son Richard being born, and come to so much maturity, that though in their mere childhood they gave no little hopes of themselves for the future time, I called them all before my wife, demanding how she liked them, to which she answering, "Well," I demanded then whether she was willing to do so much for them as I would; whereupon she, replying, demanded what I meant by that. I told her that for my part I was but young for a man, and she not old for a woman; that our lives were in the hands of God; that if he pleased to call either of us away, that party which remained might marry again, and have children by some other, to which our estates might be disposed; for preventing whereof I thought fit to motion to her that if she would assure upon the son any quantity of lands from £300 a year to £1000 I would do the like: but my wife, not approving hereof, answering in these express words, that she would not draw the cradle upon her head; whereupon I desiring

her to advise better upon the business, and to take some few days' respite for that purpose, she seemed to depart from me not very well contented. About a week or ten days afterwards, I demanded again what she thought concerning the motion I made, to which yet she said no more, but that she thought she had already answered me sufficiently to the point. I told her then that I should make another motion to her, which was that in regard I was too young to go beyond sea before I married her, she now would give me leave for a while to see foreign countries; howbeit, if she would assure her lands as I would mine, in the manner above-mentioned, I would never depart from her. She answered that I knew her mind before concerning that point, yet that she would be sorry I went beyond sea; nevertheless, if I would needs go, she could not help it. This, whether a license taken or given, served my turn to prepare without delay for a journey beyond sea, that so I might satisfy that curiosity I long since had to see foreign countries; so, that I might leave my wife so little discontented as I could, I left her not only posterity to renew the family of the Herberts of St. Gillian's, according to her father's desire to inherit his lands, but the rents of all the lands she brought with her, reserving mine own, partly to pay my brothers' and sisters' portions, and defraying my charges abroad. Upon which terms, though I was sorry to leave my wife, I thought it no such unjust ambition to attain the knowledge of foreign countries, especially since I had in great part already attained the languages, and that I intended not to spend any long time out of my country.

And now coming to court, I obtained a license to go beyond sea, taking with me for my companion Mr.

Aurelian Townsend, a gentleman that spoke the languages of French, Italian, and Spanish in great perfection, and a man to wait in my chamber who spoke French, two lackeys, and three horses. Coming thus to Dover, and passing the seas thence to Calais, I journeyed without any memorable adventure, till I came to Faubourg St. Germain in Paris, where Sir George Carew, then ambassador for the king, lived. I was kindly received by him, and often invited to his table. Next to his house dwelt the Duke of Ventadour, who had married a daughter of Monsieur de Montmorency, Grand Constable de France; many visits being exchanged between that duchess and the lady of our ambassador, it pleased the duchess to invite me to her father's house, at the castle of Merlou, being about twenty-four miles from Paris; and here I found much welcome from that brave old general,* who, being informed of my name, said he knew well of what family I was, telling the first notice he had of the Herberts was at the siege of St. Quintence, where my grandfather, with a command of foot under William Earl of Pembroke, was. Passing two or three days here, it happened one evening that a daughter of the duchess, of about ten or eleven years of age, going one evening from the castle to walk in the meadows, myself with divers French gentlemen

* Henry de Montmorency, second son of the Great Constable Anne de Montmorency who was killed at the battle of St. Denis, 1567, and brother of Duke Francis, another renowned warrior and statesman. Henry was no less distinguished in both capacities, and gained great glory at the battles of Dreux and St. Denis. He was made constable by Henry the Fourth, though he could neither read nor write, and died in the habit of St. Francis, 1614. He was father of the gallant but unfortunate Duke Henry, the last of that illustrious and ancient line, who took for their motto "Dieu ayde au premier Chretien!" The Duchess of Ventadour, mentioned above, was Margaret, second daughter of the constable, and wife of Anne de Levi, Duke of Ventadour.

attended her and some gentlewomen that were with her; this young lady wearing a knot of ribbon on her head, a French chevalier took it suddenly and fastened it to his hatband; the young lady offended herewith demands her ribbon, but he refusing to restore it, the young lady, addressing herself to me, said, "Monsieur, I pray get my ribbon from that gentleman"; hereupon going towards him, I courteously, with my hat in my hand, desired him to do me the honor that I may deliver the lady her ribbon or bouquet again; but he roughly answered me, "Do you think I will give it you when I have refused it to her?" I replied, "Nay, then, sir, I will make you restore it by force"; whereupon, also putting on my hat and reaching at his, he to save himself ran away, and after a long course in the meadow, finding that I had almost overtook him, he turned short, and, running to the young lady, was about to put the ribbon on her hand, when I, seizing upon his arm, said to the young lady, "It was I that gave it." "Pardon me," quoth she, "it is he that gives it me." I said then, "Madam, I will not contradict you, but if he dare say that I did not constrain him to give it, I will fight with him." The French gentleman answered nothing thereunto for the present, and so conducted the young lady again to the castle. The next day I desired Mr. Aurelian Townsend to tell the French cavalier that either he must confess that I constrained him to restore the ribbon, or fight with me; but the gentleman, seeing him unwilling to accept of this challenge, went out from the place, whereupon I following him, some of the gentlemen that belonged to the constable taking notice hereof acquainted him therewith, who, sending for the French cavalier, checked him well for his sauciness

in taking the ribbon away from his grandchild, and afterwards bid him depart his house ; and this was all that I ever heard of the gentleman, with whom I proceeded in that manner because I thought myself obliged thereunto by the oath* taken when I was made Knight of the Bath, as I formerly related upon this occasion.

I must remember also that three other times I engaged myself to challenge men to fight with me who I conceived had injured ladies and gentlewomen. One was in defence of my cousin, Sir Francis Newport's daughter, who was married to John Barker, of Hamon, whose younger brother and heir sent him a challenge, which to this day he never answered, and would have beaten him afterwards but that I was hindered by my uncle, Sir Francis Newport.

I had another occasion to challenge one Captain Vaughan, who I conceived offered some injury to my sister, the Lady Jones, of Abarmarias : I sent him a challenge, which he accepted, the place between us being appointed beyond Greenwich, with seconds on both sides ; hereupon I coming to the King's Head in Greenwich, with intention the next morning to be in the place, I found the house beset with at least a hundred persons, partly sent by the lords of the privy council, who gave order to apprehend me : I, hearing thereof, desired my servant to bring my horses as far as he could from my lodging, but yet within sight of me ; which

* This oath is one remnant of a superstitious and romantic age, which an age calling itself enlightened still retains. The solemn service at the investiture of knights, which has not the least connection with anything holy, is a piece of the same profane pageantry. The oath being no longer supposed to bind, it is strange mockery to invoke Heaven on so trifling an occasion. It would be more strange if every knight, like the too conscientious Lord Herbert, thought himself bound to cut a man's throat every time a miss lost her topknot !

being done, and all this company coming to lay hold on me, I and my second, who was my cousin, James Price, of Hanachly, sallied out of the doors, with our swords drawn, and in spite of that multitude made our way to our horses, where my servant, very honestly opposing himself against those who would have laid hands upon us while we got upon horseback, was himself laid hold on by them and evil treated; which I perceiving, rode back again, and with my sword in my hand rescued him, and afterwards seeing him get on horseback, charged them to go anywhere rather than to follow me; riding afterwards with my second to the place appointed, I found nobody there, which, as I heard afterwards, happened because the lords of the council, taking notice of this difference, apprehended him, and charged him in his majesty's name not to fight with me, and once otherwise I believed he would not have failed.

The third that I questioned in this kind was a Scotch gentleman, who taking a ribbon in the like manner from Mrs. Middlemore, a maid of honor, as was done from the young lady above-mentioned, in a back room behind Queen Anne's lodgings in Greenwich, she likewise desired me to get her the said ribbon. I repaired, as formerly, to him in a courteous manner to demand it, but he refusing, as the French cavalier did, I caught him by the neck, and had almost thrown him down, when company came in and parted us. I offered likewise to fight with this gentleman, and came to the place appointed by Hyde Park, but this also was interrupted by order of the lords of the council, and I never heard more of him.

These passages, though different in time, I have related here together, both for the similitude of argument, and that it may appear how strictly I held my-

self to my oath of knighthood; since for the rest I can truly say that though I have lived in the armies and courts of the greatest princes in Christendom, yet I never had a quarrel with a man for mine own sake, so that although in mine own nature I was ever choleric and hasty, yet I never without occasion given quarrelled with anybody, and as little did anybody attempt to give me offence, as having as clear a reputation for my courage as whosoever of my time. For my friends often I have hazarded myself, but never yet drew my sword for my own sake singly, as hating ever the doing of injury, contenting myself only to resent them when they were offered me. After this digression I shall return to my history.

That brave constable in France testifying now more than formerly his regard of me, at his departure from Merlou to his fair house at Chantilly, five or six miles distant, said he left that castle to be commanded by me, as also his forests and chases which were well stored with wild boar and stag, and that I might hunt them when I pleased; he told me also that if I would learn to ride the great horse, he had a stable there of some fifty, the best and choicest as was thought in France, and that his esquire called Monsieur de Disancour, not inferior to Pluvinel or Labroue, should teach me. I did with great thankfulness accept his offer, as being very much addicted to the exercise of riding great horses; and as for hunting in his forests I told him I should use it sparingly, as being desirous to preserve his game; he commanded also his esquire to keep a table for me, and his pages to attend me, the chief of whom was Monsieur de Mennon, who, proving to be one of the best horsemen in France, keeps now an academy in Paris; and here I shall recount a little passage be-

twixt him and his master, that the inclination of the French at that time may appear, there being scarce any man thought worth the looking on, that had not killed some other in duel.

Mennon desiring to marry a niece of Monsieur Disancour, who it was thought should be his heir, was thus answered by him: "Friend, it is not time yet to marry, I will tell you what you must do; if you will be a brave man, you must first kill in single combat two or three men, then afterwards marry, or the world will neither have got nor lost by you"; of which strange counsel Disancour was no otherwise the author than as he had been an example at least of the former part, it being his fortune to have fought three or four brave duels in his time.

And now as every morning I mounted the great horse, so in the afternoons I many times went a hunting, the manner of which was this: the Duke of Montmorency having given order to the tenants of the town of Merlou, and some villages adjoining, to attend me when I went a hunting, they upon my summons usually repaired to those woods where I intended to find my game, with drums and muskets, to the number of sixty or eighty, and sometimes one hundred or more persons; they entering the wood on that side with that noise, discharging their pieces and bearing their said drums, we on the other side of the said wood having placed mastiffs and greyhounds to the number of twenty or thirty, which Monsieur de Montmorency kept near his castle, expected those beasts they should force out of the wood; if stags or wild boars came forth we commonly spared them, pursuing only the wolves, which were there in great number, of which are found two sorts: the mastiff wolf, thick and short, though he could not indeed run

fast, yet would fight with our dogs; the greyhound wolf, long and swift, who many times escaped our best dogs, though when he were overtaken easily killed by us, without making much resistance; of both these sorts I killed divers with my sword, while I stayed there.

One time also it was my fortune to kill a wild boar in this manner: the boar being roused from his den fled before our dogs for a good space, but, finding them² press him hard, turned his head against our dogs, and hurt three or four of them very dangerously. I came on horseback up to him, and with my sword thrust him twice or thrice without entering his skin, the blade being not so stiff as it should be; the boar hereupon turned upon me, and much endangered my horse, which I perceiving rode a little out of the way, and, leaving my horse with my lackey, returned with my sword against the boar, who by this time had hurt more dogs; and here happened a pretty kind of fight, for when I thrust at the boar sometimes with my sword, which in some places I made enter, the boar would run at me, whose tusks yet, by stepping a little out of the way, I avoided, but he then turning upon me, the dogs came in and drew him off, so that he fell upon them, which I perceiving ran at the boar with my sword again, which made him turn upon me, but then the dogs pulled him from me again, while so relieving one another by turns, we killed the boar. At this chase Monsieur Disancour and Mennon were present, as also Mr. Townsend, yet so as they did endeavor rather to withdraw me from than assist me in the danger. Of which boar some part being well seasoned and larded, I presented to my uncle, Sir Francis Newport, in Shropshire, and found most excellent meat.

Thus having passed a whole summer, partly in these .

exercises, and partly in visits of the Duke of Montmorency at his fair house in Chantilly, which for its extraordinary fairness and situation I shall here describe.

A little river descending from some higher grounds in a country which was almost all his own, and falling at last upon a rock in the middle of a valley, which to keep its way forwards, it must on one or other side thereof have declined. Some of the ancestors of the Montmorencys, to ease the river of this labor, made divers channels through this rock to give it a free passage, dividing the rock by that means into little islands, upon which he built a great strong castle, joined together with bridges, and sumptuously furnished with hangings of silk and gold, rare pictures and statues; all which buildings, united as I formerly told, were encompassed about with water, which was paved with stone (those which were used in the building of the house were drawn from thence). One might see the huge carps, pike, and trout, which were kept in several divisions, gliding along the waters very easily; yet nothing in my opinion added so much to the glory of this castle as a forest adjoining close to it, and upon a level with the house; for being of a very large extent, and set thick both with tall trees and underwoods, the whole forest, which was replenished with wild boar, stag, and roe-deer, was cut out into long walks every way; so that, although the dogs might follow their chase through the thickets, the huntsmen might ride along the said walks, and meet or overtake their game in some one of them, they being cut with that art that they led to all the parts in said forest; and here also I have hunted the wild boar divers times, both then and afterwards, when his son the Duke of Montmorency succeeded him in the possession of that incomparable place.

And there I cannot but remember the direction the old constable gave me to return to his castle out of this admirable labyrinth, telling me I should look upon what side the trees were roughest and hardest, which being found I might be confident that part stood northward, which being observed I might easily find the east, as being on the right hand, and so guide my way home.

How much this house, together with the forest, hath been valued by great princes, may appear by two little narratives I shall here insert: Charles the Fifth, the great emperor, passing, in the time of Francis the First, from Spain into the Low Countries by the way of France, was entertained for some time in this house by a Duke of Montmorency who was likewise Constable de France, after he had taken this palace into his consideration with the forests adjoining, said he would willingly give one of his provinces in the Low Countries for such a place, there being as he thought nowhere such a situation.

Henry the Fourth also was desirous of this house, and offered to exchange any of his houses, with much more lands than his estate thereabouts was worth; to which the Duke of Montmorency made this wary answer: "*Sieur, la maison est à vous, mais que je sois le concierge*"; which in English sounds thus, "Sir, the house is yours, but give me leave to keep it for you."

When I had been at Merlou about some eight months, and attained as was thought the knowledge of horsemanship, I came to the Duke of Montmorency at St. Ilce,* and after due thanks for his favors, took

* Sic orig. But it is probably a blunder of the transcriber for Chantilly.

my leave of him to go to Paris, whereupon the good old prince embracing me and calling me son, bid me farewell, assuring me nevertheless he should be glad of any occasion hereafter to testify his love and esteem for me, telling me, farther, he should come to Paris himself shortly, where he hoped to see me; from hence I returned to Merlou, where I gave Monsieur Disancour such a present as abundantly requited the charges of my diet, and the pains of his teaching. Being now ready to set forth, a gentleman from the Duke of Montmorency came to me, and told me his master would not let me go without giving me a present, which I might keep as an earnest of his affection; whereupon also a genet, for which the duke had sent expressly into Spain, and which cost him there five hundred crowns, as I was told, was brought to me. The greatness of this gift, together with other courtesies received, did not a little trouble me, as not knowing then how to requite them. I would have given my horses I had there, which were of great value, to him, but that I thought them too mean a present, but the duke also suspecting that I meant to do so prevented me; saying, that as I loved him, I should think upon no requital, while I stayed in France, but when I came into England, if I sent him a mare that ambled naturally, I should much gratify him. I told the messenger I should strive both that way and every way else to declare my thankfulness, and so dismissed the messenger with a good reward.

Coming now to Paris, through the recommendation of the lord ambassador, I was received to the house of that incomparable scholar Isaac Casaubon, by whose learned conversation I much benefited myself, besides, I did apply myself much to the use of my arms,

and to ride the great horse, playing on the lute, and singing according to the rules of the French masters.

Sometimes also I went to the court of the French king, Henry the Fourth, who upon information of me in the garden at the Tuileries, received me with all courtesy, embracing me in his arms, and holding me some while there. I went sometimes also to the court of Queen Margaret at the Hostel, called by her name; and here I saw many balls or masks, in all which it pleased that queen publicly to place me next to her chair, not without the wonder of some, and the envy of another who was wont to have that favor. I shall recount one accident which happened while I was there.

All things being ready for the ball, and every one being in their place, and I myself next to the queen, expecting when the dancers would come in, one knocked at the door somewhat louder than became, as I thought, a very civil person; when he came in, I remember there was a sudden whisper among the ladies, saying, "C'est Monsieur Balagny," or "T is Monsieur Balagny"; whereupon also I saw the ladies and gentlewomen one after another invite him to sit near them, and which is more, when one lady had his company awhile, another would say, "You have enjoyed him long enough, I must have him now"; at which bold civility of theirs, though I were astonished, yet it added unto my wonder, that his person could not be thought at most but ordinary handsome; his hair, which was cut very short, half gray, his doublet but of sackcloth cut to his shirt, and his breeches only of plain gray cloth; informing myself by some standers-by who he was, I was told that he was one of the gallantest men in the world, as having killed eight or

nine men in single fight, and that for this reason the ladies made so much of him, it being the manner of all French women to cherish gallant men, as thiinking they could not make so much of any else with the safety of their honor. This cavalier, though his head was half gray, he had not yet attained the age of thirty years, whom I have thought fit to remember more particularly here because of some passages that happened afterwards betwixt him and me at the siege of Juliers, as I shall tell in its place.

Having passed thus all the winter, until about the latter end of January, without any such memorable accident as I shall think fit to set down particularly, I took my leave of the French king, Queen Margaret, and the nobles and ladies in both courts; at which time the Princess of Conti desired me to carry a scarf into England, and present it to Queen Anne on her part, which being accepted, myself and Sir Thomas Lucy (whose second I had been twice in France, against two cavaliers of our nation, who yet were hindered to fight with us in the field, where we attended them), we came on our way as far as Dieppe, in Normandy, and there took ship about the beginning of February, when so furious a storm arose, that with very great danger we were at sea all night; the master of our ship lost both the use of his compass and his reason; for not knowing whither he was carried by the tempest, all the help he had was by the lightnings, which, together with thunder, very frequently that night terrified him, yet gave the advantage sometimes to discover whether we were upon our coast, to which he thought by the course of his glasses we were near approached; and now towards day we found ourselves, by great providence of God, within view of Dover, to which the master of our ship

did make. The men of Dover rising by times in the morning to see whether any ship were coming towards them, were in great numbers upon the shore, as believing the tempest, which had thrown down barns and trees near the town, might give them the benefit of some wreck, if perchance any ship were driven thitherwards: we coming thus in extreme danger straight upon the pier of Dover, which stands out in the sea, our ship was unfortunately split against it; the master said, "*Mes amis, nous sommes perdus*"; or, "My friends, we are cast away"; when myself, who heard the ship crack against the pier, and then found by the master's words it was time for every one to save themselves, if they could, got out of my cabin (though very sea-sick), and, climbing up the mast a little way, drew my sword and flourished it; they at Dover, having this sign given them, adventured in a shallop of six oars to relieve us, which being come with great danger to the side of our ship, I got into it first with my sword in my hand, and called for Sir Thomas Lucy, saying, that if any man offered to get in before him, I should resist him with my sword; whereupon a faithful servant of his, taking Sir Thomas Lucy out of the cabin, who was half dead of sea-sickness, put him into my arms, whom after I had received, I bid the shallop make away for shore, and the rather that I saw another shallop coming to relieve us; when a post from France, who carried letters, finding the ship still rent more and more, adventured to leap from the top of our ship into the shallop, where falling fortunately on some of the stronger timber of the boat, and not of the planks, which he must needs have broken, and so sunk us, had he fallen upon them, escaped together with us two unto the land. I must confess myself, as also the seamen

that were in the shallop, thought once to have killed him for this desperate attempt, but, finding no harm followed, we escaped together unto the land, from whence we sent more shallops, and so made means to save both men and horses that were in the ship, which yet itself was wholly split and cast away, insomuch that in pity to the master, Sir Thomas Lucy and myself gave thirty pounds towards his loss, which yet was not so great as we thought, since the tide now ebbing he recovered the broken parts of his ship.

Coming thus to London and afterwards to court, I kissed his majesty's hand, and acquainted him with some particulars concerning France. As for the present I had to deliver to her majesty from the Princess of Conti, I thought fit rather to send it by one of the ladies that attended her, than to presume to demand audience of her in person; but her majesty, not satisfied herewith, commanded me to attend her, and demanded divers questions of me concerning that princess and the courts in France, saying she would speak more *à large* with me at some other time, for which purpose she commanded me to wait on her often, wishing me to advise her what present she might return back again.

Howbeit not many weeks after I returned to my wife and family again, where I passed some time, partly in my studies, and partly riding the great horse, of which I had a stable well furnished; no horse yet was so dear to me as the genet I brought from France, whose love I had so gotten that he would suffer none else to ride him, nor indeed any man to come near him, when I was upon him, as being in his nature a most furious horse; his true picture may be seen in the chapel chamber in my house, where I am painted riding him, and this motto by me,

“Me totum Bonitas bonum suprema
Reddas ; me intrepidum dabo vel ipse.”

This horse, as soon as ever I came to the stable, would neigh, and when I drew nearer him would lick my hand, and (when I suffered him) my cheek, but yet would permit nobody to come near his heels at the same time. Sir Thomas Lucy would have given me £200 for this horse, which, though I would not accept, yet I left the horse with him when I went to the Low Countries, who not long after died. The occasion of my going thither was thus, hearing that a war about the title of Cleves, Juliers, and some other provinces betwixt the Low Countries and Germany should be made by the several pretenders to it, and that the French king himself would come with a great army into those parts. It was now the year of our Lord 1610, when my Lord Chandos* and myself resolved to take shipping for the Low Countries, and from thence to pass to the city of Juliers, which the Prince of Orange resolved to besiege: making all haste thither, we found the siege newly begun; the Low Country army assisted by four thousand English under the command of Sir Edward Cecil. We had not been long there when the Marshal de Chartres instead of Henry the Fourth, who was killed by that villain Ravallac, came with a brave French army thither, in which Monsieur Balagny, I formerly mentioned, was a colonel.

My Lord Chandos lodged himself in the quarters where Sir Horace Vere was; I went and quartered with Sir Edward Cecil, where I was lodged next to

* Grey Bridges Lord Chandos, made a Knight of the Bath at the creation of Charles Duke of York, 1604; and called, for his hospitality and magnificence, the King of Cotswold.

him in a hut I made there, going yet both by day and night to the trenches, we making our approaches to the town on one side and the French on the other. Our lines were drawn towards the point of a bulwark of the citadel or castle, thought to be one of the best fortifications in Christendom, and encompassed about with a deep wet ditch; we lost many men in making these approaches, the town and castle being very well provided both with great and small shot, and a garrison in it of about four thousand men besides the burghers. Sir Edward Cecil (who was a very active general) used often during this siege to go in person in the night-time to try whether he could catch any sentinels perdues; and for this purpose still desired me to accompany him, in performing whereof both of us did much hazard ourselves, for the first sentinel retiring to the second and the second to the third, three shots were commonly made at us before we could do anything; though afterwards chasing them with our swords almost home unto their guards, we had some sport in the pursuit of them.

One day Sir Edward Cecil and myself coming to the approaches that Monsieur de Balagny had made towards a bulwark or bastion of that city, Monsieur de Balagny, in the presence of Sir Edward Cecil and divers English and French captains then present, said, "Monsieur, on dit, que vous êtes un des plus braves de votre nation, et je suis Balagny, allons voir qui fera le mieux," — "They say you are one of the bravest of your nation, and I am Balagny, let us see who will do best"; whereupon leaping suddenly out of the trenches with his sword drawn, I did in the like manner suddenly follow him, both of us in the mean while striving who should be foremost, which being perceived

by those of the bulwark and cortine opposite to us, three or four hundred shot at least, great and small, were made against us. Our running on forwards in emulation of each other was the cause that all the shots fell betwixt us and the trench from which we sallied. When Monsieur Balagny, finding such a storm of bullets, said, "Par Dieu il fait bien chaud,"—"It is very hot here." I answered briefly thus, "Vous en irez premier, autrement je n'irai jamais,"—"You shall go first, or else I will never go"; hereupon he ran with all speed, and somewhat crouching towards the trenches, I followed after leisurely and upright, and yet came within the trenches before they on the bulwark or cortine could charge again, which passage afterwards being related to the Prince of Orange, he said it was a strange bravado of Balagny, and that we went to an unavoidable death.

I could relate divers things of note concerning myself, during the siege, but do forbear, lest I should relish too much of vanity; it shall suffice that my passing over the ditch unto the wall, first of all the nations there, is set down by William Crofts, master of arts, and soldier, who hath written and printed the history of the Low Countries.

There happened during this siege a particular quarrel betwixt me and the Lord of Walden,* eldest son to the Earl of Suffolk, lord treasurer of England at that time, which I do but unwillingly relate, in regard of the great esteem I have of that noble family, howbeit to avoid misreports I have thought fit to set it down truly. That lord having been invited to a feast in Sir Horace

* Theophilus Lord Howard of Walden, eldest son of Thomas Earl of Suffolk, whom he succeeded in the title, and was Knight of the Garter, Constable of Dover Castle, and captain of the band of pensioners.— *Note to English Edition.*

Vere's quarters, where (after the Low Country manner) there was liberal drinking, returned not long after to Sir Edward Cecil's quarters, at which time, I speaking merrily to him, upon some slight occasion, he took that offence at me, which he would not have done at another time, insomuch that he came towards me in a violent manner, which I perceiving did more than half-way meet him ; but the company were so vigilant upon us that before any blow passed we were separated ; howbeit, because he made towards me, I thought fit the next day to send him a challenge, telling him that if he had anything to say to me, I would meet him in such a place as no man should interrupt us. Shortly after this, Sir Thomas Payton came to me on his part, and told me my lord would fight with me on horseback with single sword, "and," said he, "I will be his second ; where is yours ?" I replied that neither his lordship nor myself brought over any great horses with us ; that I knew he might much better borrow one than myself : howbeit, as soon as he showed me the place, he should find me there on horseback or on foot ; whereupon, both of us riding together upon two geldings to the side of a wood, Payton said he chose that place, and the time, break of day the next morning ; I told him I would fail neither place nor time, though I knew not where to get a better horse than the nag I rode on ; "and as for a second, I shall trust to your nobleness, who I know will see fair play betwixt us, though you come on his side" : but he urging me again to provide a second, I told him I could promise for none but myself, and that if I spoke to any of my friends in the army to this purpose, I doubted lest the business might be discovered and prevented.

He was no sooner gone from me, but night drew

on, myself resolving in the mean time to rest under a fair oak all night; after this, tying my horse by the bridle unto another tree, I had not now rested two hours, when I found some fires nearer to me than I thought was possible in so solitary a place, whereupon, also having the curiosity to see the reason hereof, I got on horseback again, and had not rode very far when, by the talk of the soldiers there, I found I was in the Scotch quarter, where, finding in a stable a very fair horse of service, I desired to know whether he might be bought for any reasonable sum of money; but a soldier replying, it was their captain's, Sir James Arskin's chief horse, I demanded for Sir James, but the soldier answering he was not within the quarter, I demanded then for his lieutenant, whereupon the soldier courteously desired him to come to me. This lieutenant was called Montgomery, and had the reputation of a gallant man. I told him that I would very fain buy a horse, and if it were possible the horse I saw but a little before; but he telling me none was to be sold there, I offered to leave in his hands one hundred pieces, if he would lend me a good horse for a day or two, he to restore me the money again when I delivered him the horse in good plight, and did besides bring him some present as a gratuity.

The lieutenant, though he did not know me, suspected I had some private quarrel, and that I desired this horse to fight on, and thereupon told me, "Sir, whosoever you are, you seem to be a person of worth, and you shall have the best horse in the stable; and if you have a quarrel and want a second, I offer myself to serve you upon another horse, and if you will let me go along with you upon these terms, I will ask no pawn of you for the horse." I told him I would use no sec-

ond, and I desired him to accept one hundred pieces, which I had there about me, in pawn for the horse, and he should hear from me shortly again ; and that though I did not take his noble offer of coming along with me, I should evermore rest much obliged to him ; whereupon giving him my purse with the money in it, I got upon his horse and left my nag besides with him.

Riding thus away about twelve o'clock at night to the wood from whence I came, I alighted from my horse, and rested there until morning ; the day now breaking I got on horseback, and attended the Lord of Walden with his second. The first person that appeared was a footman, who, I heard afterwards, was sent by the Lady of Walden, who, as soon as he saw me, ran back again with all speed ; I meant once to pursue him, but that I thought it better at last to keep my place. About two hours after, Sir William St. Leiger, now Lord President of Munster, came to me, and told me he knew the cause of my being there, and that the business was discovered by the Lord Walden's rising so early that morning, and the suspicion that he meant to fight with me, and had Sir Thomas Payton with him, and that he would ride to him, and that there were thirty or forty sent after us, to hinder us from meeting ; shortly after many more came to the place where I was, and told me I must not fight, and that they were sent for the same purpose, and that it was to no purpose to stay there, and thence rode to seek the Lord of Walden. I stayed yet two hours longer, but, finding still more company came in, rode back again to the Scotch quarters, and delivered the horse back again, and received my money and nag from Lieutenant Montgomery, and so withdrew myself to the French quarters, until I did find some convenient time to send again to the Lord Walden.

Being among the French, I remembered myself of the bravado of Monsieur Balagny, and, coming to him, told him I knew how brave a man he was, and that as he had put me to one trial of daring, when I was last with him in his trenches, I would put him to another; saying, I heard he had a fair mistress, and that the scarf he wore was her gift, and that I would maintain I had a worthier mistress than he, and that I would do as much for her sake as he or any else durst do for his. Balagny hereupon looking merrily upon me, said, that for his part, he had no mind to fight on that quarrel. I, looking hereupon somewhat disdainfully on him, said he spoke more like a paillard than a cavalier, to which he answering nothing I rode my ways, and afterwards went to Monsieur Terant, a French gentleman that belonged to the Duke of Montmorency, formerly mentioned; who telling me he had a quarrel with another gentleman, I offered to be his second, but he saying he was provided already, I rode thence to the English quarters, attending some fit occasion to send again to the Lord Walden. I came no sooner thither than I found Sir Thomas Somerset,* with eleven or twelve more at the head of the English, who were then drawing forth in a body or squadron, who seeing me on horseback, with a footman only that attended me, gave me some affronting words for my quarrelling with the Lord of Walden; whereupon I alighted, and giving my horse to my lackey, drew my sword, which he no sooner saw but he drew his, as also all the company with him. I running hereupon amongst them, put by some of their thrusts, and making towards him in par-

* He was third son of Edward Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy Seal to Queen Elizabeth and King James. Sir Thomas was Master of the Horse to Queen Anne, was made a Knight of the Bath in 1604, and Viscount *Somerset of Cassel* in Ireland.

ticular put by a thrust of his. and had certainly run him through, but that one Lieutenant Prichard, at that instant taking me by the shoulder, turned me aside ; but I recovering myself again ran at him a second time, which he perceiving retired himself with the company to the tents which were near, though not so fast but I hurt one Proger, and some others also that were with him ; but they being all at last got within the tents, I, finding now nothing else to be done, got to my house again, having received only a slight hurt on the outside of my ribs, and two thrusts, the one through the skirts of my doublet, and the other through my breeches, and about eighteen nicks upon my sword and hilt, and so rode to the trenches before Juliers, where our soldiers were.

Not long after this, the town being now surrendered, and everybody preparing to go their ways, I sent again a gentleman to the Lord of Walden to offer him the meeting with my sword, but this was avoided not very handsomely by him (contrary to what Sir Henry Rich, now Earl of Holland, persuaded him).

After having taken leave of his excellency Sir Edward Cecil, I thought fit to return on my way homewards as far as Dusseldorff. I had been scarce two hours in my lodgings, when one Lieutenant Hamilton brought a letter from Sir James Areskin (who was then in town likewise) unto me, the effect whereof was, that in regard his Lieutenant Montgomery had told him that I had the said James Areskin's consent for borrowing his horse, he did desire me to do one of two things, which was either to disavow the said words, which he thought in his conscience I never spoke, or if I would justify them, then to appoint time and place to fight with him ; having considered awhile what I was to do in this

case, I told Lieutenant Hamilton that I thought myself bound in honor to accept the more noble part of his proposition, which was to fight with him, when yet perchance it might be easy enough for me to say that I had his horse upon other terms than was affirmed; whereupon also giving Lieutenant Hamilton the length of my sword, I told him that as soon as ever he matched it, I would fight with him, wishing him farther to make haste, since I desired to end the business as speedily as could be. Lieutenant Hamilton, hereupon returning back, met in a cross street (I know not by what miraculous adventure) Lieutenant Montgomery, conveying divers of the hurt and maimed soldiers at the siege of St. Juliers unto that town, to be lodged and dressed by the chirurgeons there. Hamilton, hereupon calling to Montgomery, told him the effects of his captain's letter, together with my answer, which Montgomery no sooner heard, but he replied (as Hamilton told me afterwards), "I see that noble gentleman chooseth rather to fight than to contradict me; but my telling a lie must not be an occasion why either my captain or he should hazard their lives: I will alight from my horse, and tell my captain presently how all that matter past"; whereupon also, he relating the business about borrowing the horse, in that manner, I formerly set down, which, as soon as Sir James Areskin heard, he sent Lieutenant Hamilton to me presently again, to tell me he was satisfied how the business passed, and that he had nothing to say to me, but that he was my most humble servant, and was sorry he ever questioned me in that manner.

Some occasions detaining me in Dusseldorff, the next day Lieutenant Montgomery came to me, and told me he was in danger of losing his place, and desired

me to make means to his excellency, the Prince of Orange, that he might not be cashiered, or else that he was undone. I told him that either I would keep him in his place, or take him as my companion and friend, and allow him sufficient means till I could provide him another as good as it; which he taking very kindly, but desiring chiefly he might go with my letter to the Prince of Orange, I obtained at last he should be restored to his place again.

And now taking boat, I passed along the river of Rhine to the Low Countries, where, after some stay, I went to Antwerp and Brussels, and having passed some time in the court there, went from thence to Calais, where taking ship I arrived at Dover, and so went to London. I had scarce been two days there, when the lords of the council, sending for me, ended the difference betwixt the Lord of Walden and myself. And now, if I may say it without vanity, I was in great esteem both in court and city, many of the greatest desiring my company, though yet before that time I had no acquaintance with them. Richard, Earl of Dorset,* to whom otherwise I was a stranger, one day invited me to Dorset House, where, bringing me into his gallery and showing me many pictures, he at last brought me to a frame covered with green taffeta; and asked me who I thought was there; and therewithal, presently drawing the curtain, showed me my own picture, whereupon, demanding how his lordship came to have it, he answered that he had heard so many brave things of me that he got a copy of a picture which one Larkin, a painter, drew for me, the original whereof I

* Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, grandson of the treasurer, and husband of the famous Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset and Pembroke.

intended before my departure to the Low Countries for Sir Thomas Lucy; but not only the Earl of Dorset, but a greater person* than I will here nominate, got another copy from Larkin, and placing it afterwards in her cabinet (without that ever I knew any such thing was done) gave occasion to those that saw it after her death, of more discourse than I could have wished; and indeed I may truly say, that taking of my picture was fatal to me, for more reasons than I shall think fit to deliver.

There was a lady also, wife to Sir John Ayres, Knight, who finding some means to get a copy of my picture from Larkin, gave it to Mr. Isaac,† the painter in Blackfriars, and desired him to draw it in little after his manner, which being done, she caused it to be set in gold and enamelled, and so wore it about her neck, which I conceive coming afterwards to the knowledge of Sir John Ayres, gave him more cause of jealousy than needed, had he known how innocent I was from pretending to anything which might wrong him or his lady, since I could not so much as imagine that either she had my picture, or that she bore more than ordinary affection to me; it is true, that as she had a place in court, and attended Queen Anne, and was besides of an excellent wit and discourse, she had made herself a considerable person.

I had not been long in London, when a violent burning fever seized upon me, which brought me almost to my death, though at last I did by slow degrees recover my health; being thus upon my amendment, the Lord

* This was certainly Queen Anne, as appears in the very respectful terms in which he speaks of her a little farther, and from other passages, when he mentions the secret and dangerous enemies he had on this account.

† Isaac Oliver.

Lisle,* afterwards Earl of Leicester, sent me word that Sir John Ayres intended to kill me in my bed, and wished me to keep a guard upon my chamber and person; the same advertisement was confirmed by Lucy, Countess of Bedford,† and the Lady Hobby,‡ shortly after. Hereupon I thought fit to entreat Sir William Herbert, now Lord Powis, to go to Sir John Ayres, and tell him that I marvelled much at the information given me by these great persons, and that I could not imagine any sufficient ground hereof; howbeit, if he had anything to say to me in a fair and noble way, I would give him the meeting as soon as I had got strength enough to stand upon my legs; Sir William hereupon brought me so ambiguous and doubtful an answer from him, that, whatsoever he meant, he would not declare yet his intention, which was really, as I found afterwards, to kill me any way that he could. Finding no means thus to surprise me, sent me a letter to this effect; that he desired to meet me somewhere, and that it might so fall out as I might return quietly again. To this I replied, that if he desired to fight with me upon equal terms, I should, upon assurance of the field and fair play, give him meeting when he did anyway specify the cause, and that I did not think fit to come to him upon any other terms, having been sufficiently informed of his plots to assassinate me.

After this, finding he could take no advantage against me, then in a treacherous way he resolved to assassinate

* Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, younger brother of Sir Philip Sidney.

† Lucy Harrington, wife of Edward Earl of Bedford, a great patroness of the wits and poets of that age,

‡ Probably Anne, second wife of Sir Edward Hobby, a patron of Camden.

me in this manner: hearing I was to come to Whitehall on horseback with two lackeys only, he attended my coming back in a place called Scotland Yard, at the hither end of Whitehall, as you come to it from the Strand, hiding himself here with four men armed on purpose to kill me. I took horse at Whitehall Gate, and passing by that place, he being armed with a sword and dagger, without giving me so much as the least warning, ran at me furiously, but instead of me wounded my horse in the brisket, as far as his sword could enter for the bone; my horse hereupon starting aside, he ran him again in the shoulder, which, though it made the horse more timorous, yet gave me time to draw my sword; his men thereupon encompassed me, and wounded my horse in three places more; this made my horse kick and fling in that manner as his men durst not come near me, which advantage I took to strike at Sir John Ayres with all my force, but he warded the blow both with his sword and dagger: instead of doing him harm, I broke my sword within a foot of the hilt; hereupon, some passenger that knew me, and observing my horse bleeding in so many places, and so many men assaulting me, and my sword broken, cried to me several times, "Ride away, ride away"; but I scorning a base flight, upon what terms soever, instead thereof alighted as well as I could from my horse. I had no sooner put one foot upon the ground, but Sir John Ayres, pursuing me, made at my horse again, which the horse perceiving, pressed on me on the side I alighted, in that manner that he threw me down, so that I remained flat upon the ground, only one foot hanging in the stirrup, with that piece of a sword in my right hand.) Sir John Ayres hereupon ran about the horse, and was thrusting

his sword into me, when I finding myself in this danger, did with both my arms reaching at his legs pull them towards me, till he fell down backwards on his head. One of my footmen hereupon, who was a little Shropshire boy, freed my foot out of the stirrup, the other, which was a great fellow, having run away as soon as he saw the first assault ; this gave me time to get upon my legs, and to put myself in the best posture I could with that poor remnant of a weapon. Sir John Ayres by this time likewise was got up, standing betwixt me and some part of Whitehall, with two men on each side of him, and his brother behind him, with at least twenty or thirty persons of his friends or attendants of the Earl of Suffolk ; observing thus a body of men standing in opposition against me, (though to speak truly I saw no swords drawn but by Sir John Ayres and his men,) I ran violently against Sir John Ayres, but he, knowing my sword had no point, held his sword and dagger over his head, as believing I could strike rather than thrust, which I no sooner perceived but I put a home thrust to the middle of his breast, that I threw him down with so much force, that his head fell first to the ground, and his heels upwards ; his men hereupon assaulted me, when one Mr. Mansel, a Glamorganshire gentleman, finding so many set against me alone, closed with one of them ; a Scotch gentleman, also closing with another, took him off also ; all I could well do to those two which remained was to ward their thrusts, which I did with that resolution that I got ground upon them. Sir John Ayres was now got up a third time, when I making towards him with intention to close, thinking that there was otherwise no safety for me, put by a thrust of his with my left hand, and so coming within him, received a stab

with his dagger on my right side, which ran down my ribs as far as my hip, which I, feeling, did with my right elbow force his hand, together with the hilt of the dagger so near the upper part of my right side, that I made him leave hold. The dagger now sticking in me, Sir Henry Cary, afterwards Lord of Falkland and Lord Deputy of Ireland, finding the dagger thus in my body, snatched it out ; this while I being closed with Sir John Ayres, hurt him on the head, and threw him down a third time, when kneeling on the ground, and bestriding him, I struck at him as hard as I could with my piece of a sword, and wounded him in four several places, and did almost cut off his left hand ; his two men this while struck at me, but it pleased God even miraculously to defend me, for when I lifted up my sword to strike at Sir John Ayres, I bore off their blows half a dozen times ; his friends, now finding him in this danger, took him by the head and shoulders, and drew him from betwixt my legs, and carrying him along with them through Whitehall, at the stairs whereof he took boat. Sir Herbert Croft (as he told me afterwards) met him upon the water vomiting all the way, which I believe was caused by the violence of the first thrust I gave him ; his servants, brother, and friends being now retired also, I remained master of the place and his weapons, having first wrested his dagger from him, and afterwards struck his sword out of his hand.

This being done, I retired to a friend's house in the Strand, where I sent for a surgeon, who, searching my wound on the right side, and finding it not to be mortal, cured me in the space of some ten days, during which time I received many noble visits and messages from some of the best in the kingdom. Being now fully

recovered of my hurts, I desired Sir Robert Harley* to go to Sir John Ayres, and tell him, that though I thought he had not so much honor left in him that I could be any way ambitious to get it, yet that I desired to see him in the field with his sword in his hand; the answer that he sent me was, that he would kill me with a musket out of a window.

The lords of the privy council, who had first sent for my sword, that they might see the little fragment of a weapon with which I had so behaved myself, as perchance the like had not been heard in any credible way, did afterwards command both him and me to appear before them; but I, absenting myself on purpose, sent one Humphrey Hill with a challenge to him in an ordinary, which he refusing to receive, Humphrey Hill put it upon the point of his sword, and so let it fall before him and the company then present.

The lords of the privy council had now taken order to apprehend Sir John Ayres, when I, finding nothing else to be done, submitted myself likewise to them. Sir John Ayres had now published everywhere that the ground of his jealousy, and consequently of his assaulting me, was drawn from the confession of his wife, the Lady Ayres. She, to vindicate her honor, as well as free me from this accusation, sent a letter to her aunt, the Lady Crook, to this purpose, that her husband, Sir John Ayres, did lie falsely, but most falsely of all did lie when he said he had it from her confession, for she had never said any such thing.

This letter the Lady Crook presented to me most opportunely, as I was going to the council table before the lords, who, having examined Sir John Ayres concerning the cause of his quarrel against me, found him

* Knight of the Bath and Master of the Mint.

still persist on his wife's confession of the fact; and and now, he being withdrawn, I was sent for, when the Duke of Lenox,* afterwards of Richmond, telling me that was the ground of his quarrel, and the only excuse he had for assaulting me in that manner, I desired his lordship to peruse the letter, which I told him was given me as I came into the room; this letter being publicly read by a clerk of the council, the Duke of Lenox then said that he thought Sir John Ayres the most miserable man living, for his wife had not only given him the lie, as he found by her letter, but his father had disinherited him for attempting to kill me in that barbarous fashion, which was most true, as I found afterwards. For the rest, that I might content myself with what I had done, it being more almost than could be believed, but that I had so many witnesses thereof; for all which reasons he commanded me, in the name of his majesty, and all their lordships, not to send any more to Sir John Ayres, nor to receive any message from him in the way of fighting, which commandment I observed: howbeit, I must not omit to tell that some years afterward Sir John Ayres returning from Ireland by Beaumaris, where I then was, some of my servants and followers broke open the doors of the house where he was, and would, I believe, have cut him into pieces, but that I, hearing thereof, came suddenly to the house and recalled them, sending him word also that I scorned to give him the usage he gave me, and that I would set him free of the town, which courtesy of mine, as I was told afterwards, he did thankfully acknowledge.

About a month after that Sir John Ayres attempted

* Lodowic Stuart, Duke of Lenox and Richmond, was Lord Steward of the Household and Knight of the Garter.

to assassinate me, the news thereof was carried, I know not how, to the Duke of Montmorency, who presently despatched a gentleman with a letter to me, which I keep, and a kind offer that if I would come unto him I should be used as his own son ; neither had this gentleman, as I know of, any other business in England. I was told besides by this gentleman that the duke heard I had greater and more enemies than did publicly declare themselves, which indeed was true, and that he doubted I might have a mischief before I was aware.

My answer hereunto by letter was that I rendered most humble thanks for his great favor in sending to me ; that no enemies how great or many soever could force me out of the kingdom ; but if ever there were occasion to serve him in particular, I should not fail to come ; for performance whereof, it happening there were some overtures of a civil war in France the next year, I sent over a French gentleman, who attended me, unto the Duke of Montmorency, expressly to tell him that if he had occasion to use my service in the designed war I would bring over one hundred horse at my own cost and charges to him ; which that good old duke and constable took so kindly that (as the Duchess of Antedor,* his daughter, told me afterwards when I was ambassador) there were few days until the last of his life that he did not speak of me with much affection.

I can say little more memorable concerning myself from the year 1611, when I was hurt, until the year of our Lord 1614, than that I passed my time sometimes in the court, where I protest before God I had more favors than I desired, and sometimes in the country, without any memorable accident ; but only that it

* Ventadour.

happened one time going from St. Gillian's to Abergavenny, in the way to Montgomery Castle, Richard Griffiths, a servant of mine, being come near a bridge over Husk not far from the town, thought fit to water his horse, but the river being deep and strong in that place where he entered it, he was carried down the stream ; my servants that were before me, seeing this, cried aloud Dick Griffiths was drowning, which I no sooner heard, but I put spurs to my horse, and coming up to the place, where I saw him as high as his middle in water, leaped into the river a little below him, and swimming up to him bore him up with one of my hands and brought him into the middle of the river, where, through God's great providence, was a bank of sand ; coming hither, not without some difficulty, we rested ourselves, and advised whether it were better to return back unto the side from whence we came, or to go on forwards ; but Dick Griffiths saying we were sure to swim if we returned back, and that perchance the river might be shallow the other way, I followed his counsel, and, putting my horse below him, bore him up in the manner I did formerly, and, swimming through the river, brought him safe to the other side. The horse I rode upon I remember cost me forty pounds, and was the same horse which Sir John Ayres hurt under me, and did swim exceedingly well, carrying me and his back above water ; whereas that little nag upon which Richard Griffiths rode swam so low that he must needs have drowned if I had not supported him.

I will tell one history more of this horse, which I bought of my cousin Fowler of the grange, because it is memorable. I was passing over a bridge not far from Colebrook, which had no barrier on the one side, and a hole in the bridge not far from the middle, my

horse, though lusty yet being very timorous, and seeing besides but very little on the right eye, started so much at the hole, that upon a sudden he had put half his body lengthwise over the side of the bridge, and was ready to fall into the river, with his forefoot and hinder foot on the right side, when I, foreseeing the danger I was in if I fell down, clapped my left foot together with the stirrup and spur flat-long to the left side, and so made him leap upon all four into the river, whence after some three or four plunges he brought me to land.

The year 1614 was now entering, when I understood that the Low Country and Spanish army would be in the field that year; this made me resolve to offer my service to the Prince of Orange, who upon my coming did much welcome me, not suffering me almost to eat anywhere but at his table, and carrying me abroad the afternoon in his coach to partake of those entertainments he delighted in when there was no pressing occasion. The Low Country army being now ready, his excellency prepared to go into the field; in the way to which he took me in his coach, and sometimes in a wagon after the Low Country fashion, to the great envy of the English and French chief commanders who expected that honor. Being now arrived near Emerick, one with a most humble petition came from a monastery of nuns, most humbly desiring that the soldiers might not violate their honor nor their monastery, whereupon I was a most humble suitor to his excellency to spare them, which he granted; "but," said he, "we will go and see them ourselves"; and thus his excellency, and I and Sir Charles Morgan only, not long after going to the monastery, found it deserted in great part. Having put a guard upon this monastery,

his excellency marched with his army on until we came near the city of Emerick, which, upon summoning, yielded; and now leaving a garrison here, we resolved to march beyond Rice;* this place having the Spanish army under the command of Monsieur Spinola on the one side, and the Low Country army on the other, being able to resist neither, sent word to both armies, that whichever came first should have the place. Spinola hereupon sent word to his excellency that, if we intended to take Rice, he would give him battle in a plain near before the town. His excellency, nothing astonished hereat, marched on, his pioneers making his way for the army still, through hedges and ditches, until he came to that hedge and ditch which was next the plain; and here, drawing his men into battle, resolved to attend the coming of Spinola into the field; while his men were putting in order, I was so desirous to see whether Spinola with his army appeared, I leaped over a great hedge and ditch, attended only with one footman, purposing to change a pistol-shot or two with the first I met. I found thus some single horse in the field, who, perceiving me to come on, rode away as fast as they could, believing perchance that more would follow me; having thus passed to the further end of the field, and finding no show of the enemy, I returned back that I might inform his excellency there was no hope of fighting as I could perceive. In the mean time his excellency, having prepared all things for battle, sent out five or six scouts to discover whether the enemy were come according to promise; these men, finding me now coming towards them, thought I was one of the enemies, which being perceived by me, and I as little knowing at that time

* Rees, in the Duchy of Cleves near Emerick.

who they were, rode up with my sword in my hand, and pistol, to encounter them ; and now being come within reasonable distance, one of the persons there that knew me told his fellows who I was, whereupon I passed quietly to his excellency and told him what I had done, and that I found no appearance of an army ; his excellency then caused the hedge and ditch before him to be levelled, and marched in front with his army into the middle of the field, from whence, sending some of his forces to summon the town, it yielded without resistance.

Our army made that haste to come to the place appointed for the battle, that all our baggage and provision were left behind, insomuch that I was without any meat but what my footman spared me out of his pocket ; and my lodging that night was no better, for extreme rain falling at that time in the open field, I had no shelter, but was glad to get on the top of a wagon which had straw in it, and to cover myself with my cloak as well as I could, and so endure that stormy night. Morning being come, and no enemy appearing, I went to the town of Rice, into which his excellency, having now put a garrison, marched on with the rest of his army towards Wezel, before which Spinola with his army lay, and in the way intrenched himself strongly, and attended Spinola's motions. For the rest, nothing memorable happened after this, betwixt those two great generals, for the space of many weeks.

I must yet not omit with thankfulness to remember a favor his excellency did me at this time : for a soldier having killed his fellow-soldier, in the quarter where they were lodged, which is an unpardonable fault, insomuch that no man would speak for him, the poor

fellow comes to me and desires me to beg his life of his excellency, whereupon I demanding whether he had ever heard of a man pardoned in this kind, and he saying no, I told him it was in vain then for me to speak; when the poor fellow, writhing his neck a little, said, "Sir, but were it not better you shall cast away a few words, than I lose my life?" This piece of eloquence moved me so much that I went straight to his excellency, and told him what the poor fellow had said, desiring him to excuse me if upon these terms I took the boldness to speak for him. There was present at that time the Earl of Southampton,* as also Sir Edward Cecil, and Sir Horace Vere, as also Monsieur de Chastillon, and divers other French commanders; to whom his excellency, turning himself, said in French, "Do you see this cavalier? With all that courage you know, hath yet that good nature to pray for the life of a poor soldier: though I had never pardoned any before in this kind, yet I will pardon this at his request": so commanding him to be brought me, and disposed of as I thought fit, whom therefore I released and set free.

It was now so far advanced in autumn, both armies thought of retiring themselves into their garrisons, when a trumpeter comes into the Spanish army to ours, with a challenge from a Spanish cavalier to this effect, that if any cavalier in our army would fight a single combat for the sake of his mistress, the said Spaniard would meet him, upon assurance of the camp in our army. This challenge, being brought early in the morning, was accepted by nobody till about ten or eleven of the clock, when the report thereof coming to me, I went straight

* Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton. He had been attainted with the Earl of Essex, but was restored by King James and made Knight of the Garter.

to his excellency, and told him I desired to accept the challenge. His excellency thereupon, looking earnestly upon me, told me he was an old soldier, and that he had observed two sorts of men who used to send challenges in this kind. One was, of those who, having lost perchance some part of their honor in the field against the enemy, would recover it again by a single fight. The other was, of those who sent it only to discover whether our army had in it men affected to give trial of themselves in this kind; howbeit, if this man was a person without exception to be taken against him, he said there was none he knew upon whom he would sooner venture the honor of his army than myself; and this also he spoke before divers of the English and French commanders I formerly nominated. Hereupon, by his excellency's permission, I sent a trumpet to the Spanish army with this answer, that if the person who would be sent were a cavalier without reproach, I would answer him with such weapons as we should agree upon, in the place he offered; but my trumpeter was scarcely arrived, as I believe, at the Spanish army when another trumpeter came to ours from Spinola, saying the challenge was made without his consent, and that therefore he would not permit it. This message being brought to his excellency, with whom I then was, he said to me presently, "This is strange; they send a challenge hither, and when they have done, recall it. I should be glad if I knew the true causes of it." "Sir," said I, "if you will give me leave, I will go to their army and make the like challenge as they sent hither; it may be some scruple is made concerning the place appointed, being in your excellency's camp, and therefore I shall offer them the combat in *their own*." His excellency said, "I should never have

persuaded you to this course, but since you voluntarily offer it, I must not deny that which you think to be for your honor." Hereupon, taking my leave of him, and desiring Sir Humphrey Tufton,* a brave gentleman, to bear me company, thus we too, attended only with two lackeys, rode straight towards the Spanish camp before Wezel; coming thither without any disturbance, by the way, I was demanded by the guard, at the entering into their camp, with whom I would speak. I told them with the Duke of Newbourg, whereupon a soldier was presently sent with us to conduct us to the Duke of Newbourg's tent, who, remembering me well, since he saw me at the siege of Juliers, very kindly embraced me; and therewithal demanding the cause of my coming thither, I told him the effect thereof in the manner I formerly set down; to which he replied only, he would acquaint the Marquis Spinola therewith, who coming shortly after to the Duke of Newbourg's tent, with a great train of commanders and captains following him, he no sooner entered, but he turned to me and said that he knew well the cause of my coming, and that the same reasons which made him forbid the Spanish cavalier to fight a combat in the Prince of Orange's camp did make him forbid it in his, and that I should be better welcome to him than I would be, and thereupon entreated me to come and dine with him. I, finding nothing else to be done, did kindly accept the offer, and so attended him to his tent, where a brave dinner being put upon his table, he placed the Duke of Newbourg uppermost at one end of the table, and myself at the other, himself sitting below us, presenting with his own hand still the best of that meat his carver offered him. He demanded of me then in Italian, "Di

* Third son of Sir John Tufton, and brother of Nicholas Earl of Thanet.

che moriva Signor Francesco Vere?"—"Of what died Sir Francis Vere?" I told him, "Per aver niente à fare,"—"Because he had nothing to do." Spinola replied, "E basta per un Generale,"—"And it is enough to kill a general"; and indeed that brave commander, Sir Francis Vere, died not in time of war but of peace.

Taking my leave now of the Marquis Spinola, I told him that if ever he did lead an army against the infidels, I should adventure to be the first man that would die in that quarrel, and together demanded leave of him to see his army, which he granting, I took leave of him, and did at leisure view it; observing the difference in the proceedings betwixt the Low Country army and fortifications as well as I could; and so, returning shortly after to his excellency, related to him the success of my journey. It happened about this time that Sir Henry Wotton mediated a peace by the king's command, who coming for that purpose to Wezel, I took occasion to go along with him into Spinola's army, whence, after a night's stay, I went on an extreme rainy day through the woods to Kysarswert, to the great wonder of mine host, who said all men were robbed or killed that went that way; from hence I went to Cullin,* where among other things I saw the monastery of St. Herbert; from hence I went to Heidelberg, where I saw the Prince and Princess Palatine, from whom, having received much good usage, I went to Ulm, and so to Augsburg, where extraordinary honor was done me, for coming into an inn where an ambassador from Brussels lay, the town sent twenty great flagons of wine thither, whereof they gave eleven to the ambassador, and nine to me: and withal some such compliments that I found my fame had prevented†

* Cologne.

† "Prevented," in modern acceptance, "preceded."

my coming thither. From hence I went through Switzerland to Trent, and from thence to Venice, where I was received by the English ambassador, Sir Dudley Carlton,* with much honor; among other favors showed me, I was brought to see a nun in Murano, who being an admirable beauty, and together singing extremely well, who was thought one of the rarities not only of that place but of the time. We came to a room opposite unto the cloister, whence she, coming on the other side of the grate betwixt us, sung so extremely well that when she departed, neither my lord ambassador nor his lady, who were then present, could find as much as a word of fitting language to return her for the extraordinary music she gave us; when I, being ashamed that she should go back without some testimony of the sense we had both of the harmony of her beauty and her voice, said in Italian, "Moria pur quando vuol, non bisogna mutar ni voce ni faccia per esser un angelo," — "Die whensoever you will, you neither need to change voice nor face to be an angel." These words, it seemed, were fatal, for going thence to Rome, and returning shortly afterwards, I heard she was dead in the mean time.

From Venice after some stay I went to Florence, where I met the Earl of Oxford† and Sir Benjamin Rudier;‡ having seen the rarities of this place likewise, and particularly that rare chapel made for the house of

* Ambassador to Venice, Savoy, and Holland, Secretary of State, and Viscount Dorchester.

† Henry Vere, Earl of Oxford. He died at the Hague in 1625, of a sickness contracted at the siege of Breda, where, being a very corpulent man, he had overheated himself.

‡ Sir Benjamin Rudyard was a man in great vogue in that age, a wit, and poet, and intimate friend of William Earl of Pembroke, with whose *poems* Sir Benjamin's are printed.

Medici, beautified on all the inside with a coarser kind of precious stone, as also that nail which was at one end iron, and the other gold, made so by virtue of a tincture into which it was put. I went to Siena, and from thence, a little before the Christmas holidays, to Rome. I was no sooner alighted at my inn, but I went straight to the English college, where, demanding for the regent or master thereof, a grave person not long after appeared at the door, to whom I spake in this manner: "Sir, I need not tell you my country when you hear my language; I come not here to study controversies, but to see the antiquities of the place; if without scandal to the religion in which I was born and bred up, I may take this liberty, I should be glad to spend some convenient time here; if not, my horse is yet unsaddled, and myself willing to go out of the town." The answer returned by him to me was, that he never heard anybody before me profess himself of any other religion than what was used in Rome; for his part, he approved much my freedom, as collecting thereby I was a person of honor; for the rest, that he could give me no warrant for my stay there, howbeit that experience did teach that those men who gave no affronts to the Roman Catholic religion received none; whereupon also he demanded my name. I telling him I was called Sir Edward Herbert, he replied that he had heard men oftentimes speak of me both for learning and courage, and presently invited me to dinner. I told him that I took his courteous offer as an argument of his affection; that I desired him to excuse me if I did not accept it; the uttermost liberty I had (as the times then were in England) being already taken in coming to that city only, lest they should think me a factious person; I thought fit

to tell him that I conceived the points agreed upon on both sides are greater bonds of amity betwixt us, than that the points disagreed on could break them; that, for my part, I loved everybody that was of a pious and virtuous life, and thought the errors on what side soever were more worthy pity than hate; and having declared myself thus far, I took my leave of him courteously, and spent about a month's time in seeing the antiquities of that place, which first found means to establish so great an empire over the persons of men, and afterwards over their consciences: the articles of confession and absolving sinners being a greater Arcanum Imperii for governing the world, than all the arts invented by statists formerly were.

After I had seen Rome sufficiently, I went to Tivoli, anciently called Tibur, and saw the fair palace and garden there, as also Frascati, anciently called Tusculanum; after that, I returned to Rome, and saw the Pope in consistory, which being done, when the Pope being now ready to give his blessing, I departed thence suddenly, which gave such a suspicion of me, that some were sent to apprehend me, but I going a by-way escaped them, and went to my inn to take horse, where I had not been now half an hour, when the master or regent of the English college telling me that I was accused in the inquisition, and that I could stay no longer with any safety, I took this warning very kindly; howbeit I did only for the present change my lodging, and a day or two afterwards took horse and went out of Rome towards Siena, and from thence to Florence.

After I had stayed awhile, from hence I went by Ferrara and Bologna towards Padua, in which university having spent some time to hear the learned readers,

and particularly Cremonini, I left my English horses and Scotch saddles there, for on them I rode all the way from the Low Countries. I went by boat to Venice: the Lord Ambassador, Sir Dudley Carlton, by this time had a command to reside awhile in the court of the Duke of Savoy, wherewith also his lordship acquainted me, demanding whether I would go thither; this offer was gladly accepted by me, both as I was desirous to see that court, and that it was in the way to the Low Country, where I meant to see the war the summer ensuing.

Coming thus in the coach with my lord ambassador to Milan, the governor thereof invited my lord ambassador to his house, and sometimes feasted him during his stay there: here I heard that famous nun singing to the organ in this manner; another nun beginning first to sing, performed her part so well that we gave her much applause for her excellent art and voice; (only we thought she did sing somewhat lower than other women usually did,) hereupon also, being ready to depart, we heard suddenly, for we saw nobody, that nun which was so famous, sing an eight higher than the other had done; her voice was the sweetest, strongest, and clearest that ever I heard, in the using whereof also she showed that art as ravished us into admiration.

From Milan we went to Novara, as I remember, where we were entertained by the governor, being a Spaniard, with one of the most sumptuous feasts that ever I saw, being but of nine dishes, in three several services; the first whereof was three ollas podridas consisting of all choice boiled meats, placed in three large silver chargers, which took up the length of a great table; the meat in it being heightened up arti-

ficially, pyramid wise, to a sparrow, which was on the top : the second service was like the former, of roast meat, in which all manner of fowl, from the pheasant and partridge, to other fowl less than them, were heightened up to a lark : the third was in sweet-meats dry of all sorts, heightened in like manner to a round comfit.

From hence we went to Vercelly, a town of the Duke of Savoy's, frontier to the Spaniard, with whom the duke was then in war ; from whence, passing by places of least note, we came to Turin, where the Duke of Savoy's court was. After I had refreshed myself here some two or three days, I took leave of my lord ambassador with intention to go to the Low Countries, and was now upon the way thither, as far as the foot of Mount Cenis, when the Count Scarnafigi came to me from the duke* and brought a letter to this effect ; that the duke had heard I was a cavalier of great worth, and desirous to see the wars, and that if I would serve him I should make my own conditions : finding so courteous an invitation, I returned back, and was lodged by the Duke of Savoy in a chamber furnished with silk and gold hangings, and a very rich bed, and defrayed at the duke's charges, in the English ambassador's house. The duke also confirmed unto me what the Count Scarnafigi had said, and together bestowed divers compliments on me. I told his highness that when I knew in what service he pleased to employ me, he should find me ready to testify the sense I had of his princely invitation.

It was now in the time of Carnival, when the duke, who loved the company of ladies and dancing as much as any prince whosoever, made divers masks and balls,

* Charles Emanuel.

in which his own daughters among divers other ladies danced; and here it was his manner to place me always with his own hand near some fair lady, wishing us both to entertain each other with some discourse, which was a great favor among the Italians; he did many other ways also declare the great esteem he had of me without coming to any particular, the time of the year for going into the field being not yet come; only he exercised his men often, and made them ready for his occasions in the spring.

The duke, at last resolving how to use my service, thought fit to send me to Languedoc in France, to conduct four thousand men of the reformed religion (who had promised their assistance in his war) unto Piedmont. I willingly accepted this offer; so taking my leave of the duke, and bestowing about seventy or eighty pounds among his officers, for the kind entertainment I had received, I took my leave also of my lord ambassador, and Sir Albertus Moreton, who was likewise employed there, and prepared for my journey, for more expedition of which I was desired to go post. An old Scotch knight of the Sandelands, hearing this, desired to borrow my horses as far as Heidelberg, which I granted on condition that he would use them well by the way, and give them good keeping in that place afterwards.

The Count Scarnafigi was comanded to bear me company in this journey, and to carry with him some jewels, which he was to pawn in Lyons in France, and with the money gotten for them to pay the soldiers above nominated; for though the duke had put extreme taxations on his people, insomuch that they paid not only a certain sum for every horse, ox, cow, or sheep that they kept, but afterwards for every chimney, and finally every single person by the poll, which

amounted to a pistole, or fourteen shillings, a head or person, yet he wanted money: at which I did not so much wonder as at the patience of his subjects; of whom I demanded how they could bear their taxations. I have heard some of them answer, "We are not so much offended with the duke for what he takes from us, as thankful for what he leaves us."

The Count Scarnafigi and I, now setting forth, rode post all day without eating or drinking by the way, the count telling me still we should come to a good inn at night. It was now twilight when the count and I came near a solitary inn, on the top of a mountain. The hostess, hearing the noise of horses, came out, with a child new born on her left arm, and a rush candle in her hand; she presently, knowing the Count de Scarnafigi, told him, "Ah, signor, you are come in a very ill time; the duke's soldiers have been here to-day, and have left me nothing." I looked sadly upon the count, when he, coming near to me, whispered me in the ear, and said, "It may be she thinks we will use her as the soldiers have done: go you into the house, and see whether you can find anything; I will go round about the house, and perhaps I shall meet with some duck, hen, or chicken." Entering thus into the house, I found, for all other furniture of it, the end of an old form; upon which sitting down, the hostess came towards me with a rush candle, and said, "I protest before God that it is true which I told the count, here is nothing to eat; but you are a gentleman, methinks it is pity you should want; if you please, I will give you some milk out of my breasts, into a wooden dish I have here." This unexpected kindness made that impression on me, that I remember I was never so tenderly sensible of anything; my answer was, "God forbid I

should take away the milk from the child I see in thy arms, howbeit I shall take it all my life for the greatest piece of charity that ever I heard of." And therewithal giving her a pistole, or a piece of gold of fourteen shillings, Scarnafigi and I got on horseback again and rode another post, and came to an inn where we found very coarse cheer, yet hunger made us relish it.

In this journey I remember I went over Mount Gabelet by night, being carried down that precipice in a chair, a guide that went before bringing a bottle of straw with him, and kindling pieces of it from time to time, that we might see our way. Being at the bottom of a hill, I got on horseback and rode to Burgundy, resolving to rest there awhile; and the rather (to speak truly) that I had heard divers say, and particularly Sir John Finnet* and Sir Richard Newport,† that the host's daughter there was the handsomest woman that ever they saw in their lives. Coming to the inn, the Count Scarnafigi wished me to rest two or three hours, and he would go before to Lyons to prepare business for my journey to Languedoc. The host's daughter being not within, I told her father and mother that I desired only to see their daughter, as having heard her spoken of in England with so much advantage, that divers told me they thought her the handsomest creature that ever they saw. They answered she was gone to a marriage, and should be presently sent for, wishing me in the mean while to take some rest upon a bed, for they saw I needed it. Waking now about two hours afterwards, I found her sitting by me, attending when I would open mine eyes. I shall touch a little of her description; her hair, being of a shining black, was naturally curled

* Master of the Ceremonies.

† Afterwards created a baron, and ancestor of the Earls of Bradford.

in that order that a curious woman would have dressed it, for one curl rising by degrees above another, and every bout tied with a small ribbon of a naccarine, or the color that the Knights of the Bath wear, gave a very graceful mixture, while it was bound up in this manner from the point of her shoulder to the crown of her head; her eyes, which were round and black, seemed to be models of her whole beauty, and in some sort of her air, while a kind of light or flame came from them, not unlike that which the ribbon which tied up her hair exhibited. I do not remember ever to have seen a prettier mouth or whiter teeth; briefly, all her outward parts seemed to become each other, neither was there anything that could be disliked, unless one should say her complexion was too brown, which, yet from the shadow, was heightened with a good blood in her cheeks. Her gown was a green Turkey program, cut all into panes or slashes, from the shoulder and sleeves unto the foot, and tied up at the distance of about a hand's-breadth everywhere with the same ribbon with which her hair was bound; so that her attire seemed as bizarre as her person. I am too long in describing a host's daughter, howbeit I thought I might better speak of her than of divers other beauties held to be the best and fairest of the time whom I have often seen. In conclusion, after about an hour's stay, I departed thence, without offering so much as the least incivility; and indeed after so much weariness, it was enough that her sight alone did somewhat refresh me.

From hence I went straight to Lyons; entering the gate, the guards there, after their usual manner, demanded of me who I was, whence I came, and whither I went. To which, while I answered, I observed one of *them* look very attentively upon me, and then again

upon a paper he had in his hand ; this, having been done divers times, bred in me a suspicion that there was no good meaning in it, and I was not deceived in my conjecture ; for the queen mother of France having newly made an edict that no soldiers should be raised in France, the Marquis de Rambouillet,* French ambassador at Turin, sent word of my employment to the Marquis de St. Chaumont, then governor of Lyons, as also a description of my person. This edict was so severe as they who raised any men were to lose their heads. In this unfortunate conjuncture of affairs nothing fell out so well on my part as that I had not raised as yet any men ; howbeit, the guards requiring me to come before the governor, I went with them to a church where he was at vespers ; this while I walked in the lower part of the church, little imagining what danger I was in, had I levied any men. I had not walked there long, when a single person came to me appareled in a black stuff suit, without any attendants upon him, when I, supposing this person to be any man rather than the governor, saluted him without much ceremony. His first question was, whence I came. I answered from Turin. He demanded then, whither I would go. I answered, I was not yet resolved. His third question was, what news at Turin ; to which I answered, that I had no news to tell, as supposing him to be only some busy or inquisitive person. The marquis hereupon called one of the guards that conducted me thither, and after he had whispered something in his ear, wished me to go along with him, which I did

* This gentleman, I believe, was husband of Madame de Rambouillet, whose assemblies of the wits and poets were so much celebrated in that age. They were parents of the famous Julie d'Angennes, Duchesse de Montausier, well known by Voiture's letters to her.

willingly, as believing this man would bring me to the governor. This man silently leading me out of the church brought me to a fair house, into which I was no sooner entered, but he told me I was commanded to prison there by him I saw in the church, who was the governor. I replied I did not know him to be governor, nor that that was a prison, and that if I were out of it again neither the governor nor all the town could bring me to it alive. The master of the house hereupon spoke me very fair, and told me he would conduct me to a better chamber than any I could find in an inn, and thereupon conducted me to a very handsome lodging not far from the river. I had not been here half an hour when Sir Edward Sackville,* now Earl of Dorset, hearing only that an Englishman was committed, sent to know who I was, and why I was imprisoned. The governor, not knowing whether to lay the fault upon my short answers to him, or my commission to levy men contrary to the queen's edict, made him so doubtful an answer, after he had a little touched upon both, as he dismissed him unsatisfied.

Sir Edward Sackville, hereupon coming to the house where I was, as soon as ever he saw me, embraced me, saying, "Ned Herbert, what doest thou here?" I answered, "Ned Sackville, I am glad to see you, but I protest I know not why I am here." He again said, "Hast thou raised any men yet for the Duke of Savoy?" I replied, "Not so much as one." "Then," said he, "I will warrant thee, although I must tell thee, the governor is much offended at thy behavior and language in the church." I replied it was impossible for me to imagine him to be governor that came without a guard, and in such mean clothes as he then wore. "I

* Well known by his duel with the Lord Bruce.

will go to him again, and tell him what you say, and doubt not but you shall be suddenly freed." Hereupon returning to the governor he told of what family I was, and of what condition, and that I had raised no men, and that I knew him not to be governor; whereupon the marquis wished him to go back, that he would come in person to free me out of the house.

This message being brought me by Sir Edward Sackville, I returned this answer only, that it was enough if he sent order to free me. While these messages passed, a company of handsome young men and women, out of I know not what civility, brought music under the window and danced before me, looking often up to see me; but Sir Edward Sackville being now returned with order to free me, I only gave them thanks out of the window, and so went along with them to the governor. Being come into a great hall, where his lady was, and a large train of gentlewomen and other persons, the governor, with his hat in his hand, demanded of me whether I knew him. When his noble lady, answering for me, said, "How could he know you, when you were in the church alone, and in this habit, being for the rest wholly a stranger to you?" Which civility of hers, although I did not presently take notice of it, I did afterwards most thankfully acknowledge when I was ambassador in France. The governor's next questions were the very same he made when he met me in the church; to which I made the very same answers before them all, concluding that as I did not know him he could think it no incongruity if I answered in those terms: the governor yet was not satisfied herewith, and his noble lady, taking my part again, gave him those reasons for my answering him in that manner that they silenced him from speaking any farther.

The governor turning back, I likewise, after an humble obeisance made to his lady, returned with Sir Edward Sackville to my lodgings.

This night I passed as quietly as I could, but the next morning advised with him what I was to do. I told him I had received a great affront, and that I intended to send him a challenge, in such courteous language that he could not refuse it. Sir Edward Sackville by all means dissuaded me from it; by which means I perceived I was not to expect his assistance therein, and, indeed, the next day he went out of town.

Being alone now, I thought on nothing more than how to send him a challenge, which at last I penned to this effect; that whereas he had given me great offence without a cause, I thought myself bound as a gentleman to resent it, and therefore desired to see him with his sword in his hand in any place he should appoint; and hoped he would not interpose his authority as an excuse for not complying with his honor on this occasion, and that so I rested his humble servant.

Finding nobody in town for two or three days, by whom I might send this challenge, I resolved for my last means to deliver it in person, and observe how he took it, intending to right myself as I could, when I found he stood upon his authority.

This night it happened that Monsieur Terant, formerly mentioned, came to the town; this gentleman knowing me well, and remembering our acquaintance both at France and Juliers, wished there were some occasion for him to serve me. I presently hereupon, taking the challenge out of my pocket, told him he would oblige me extremely if he were pleased to deliver it, and that I hoped he might do it without danger, since I knew the French to be so brave a

nation that they would never refuse or dislike anything that was done in an honorable and worthy way.

Terant took the challenge from me, and after he had read it, told me that the language was civil and discreet; nevertheless he thought the governor would not return me that answer I expected; howsoever, said he, I will deliver it. Returning thus to my inn, and intending to sleep quieter that night than I had done three nights before, about one of the clock after midnight, I heard a great noise at my door which awakened me, certain persons knocking so hard as if they would break it, besides through the chinks thereof I saw light; this made me presently rise in my shirt, when, drawing my sword, I went to the door and demanded who they were; and together told them that if they came to make me prisoner, I would rather die with my sword in my hand; and therewithal opening the door, I found upon the stairs half a dozen men armed with halberts, whom I no sooner prepared to resist but the chief of them told me that they came not to me from the governor, but from my good friend the Duke of Montmorency, son to the duke I formerly mentioned, and that he came to town late that night, in his way from Languedoc (of which he was governor) to Paris; and that he desired me, if I loved him, to rise presently and come to him, assuring me farther that this was most true; hereupon wishing them to retire themselves, I dressed myself and went with them. They conducted me to the great hall of the governor, where the Duke of Montmorency and divers other cavaliers had been dancing with the ladies. I went presently to the Duke of Montmorency, who, taking me a little aside, told me that he had heard of the passages be-

twixt the governor and me, and that I had sent him a challenge; howbeit, that he conceived men in his place were not bound to answer as private persons for those things they did by virtue of their office: nevertheless, that I should have satisfaction in as ample manner as I could reasonably desire. Hereupon bringing me with him to the governor, he freely told me that now he knew who I was, he could do no less than assure me that he was sorry for what was done, and desired me to take this for satisfaction; the Duke of Montmorency hereupon said presently, "C'est assez,"—"It is enough." I then, turning to him, demanded whether he would have taken this satisfaction in the like case. He said, "Yes." After this, turning to the governor, I demanded the same question, to which he answered, that he would have taken the same satisfaction, and less too. I, kissing my hand, gave it him, who embraced me, and so this business ended.

After some compliments passed between the Duke of Montmorency, who remembered the great love his father bore me, which he desired to continue in his person, and putting me in mind also of our being educated together for a while, demanded whether I would go with him to Paris. I told him that I was engaged to the Low Countries, but that wheresoever I was, I should be his most humble servant.

My employment with the Duke of Savoy, in Languedoc, being thus ended, I went from Lyons to Geneva, where I found also my fame had prevented my coming; for the next morning after my arrival, the state taking notice of me, sent a messenger in their name to congratulate my being there, and presented me with some flagons of wine, desiring me, if I stayed there any *while*, to see their fortifications, and give my opinion

of them; which I did, and told them I thought they were weakest where they thought themselves the strongest, which was on the hilly part, where indeed they had made great fortifications; yet, as it is a rule in war that whatsoever may be made by art may be destroyed by art again, I conceived they had need to fear the approach of an enemy on that part rather than any other. They replied that divers great soldiers had told them the same, and that they would give the best order they could to serve themselves on that side.

Having rested here some while to take physick (my health being a little broken with long travel), I departed after a fortnight's stay to Basle, where, taking a boat upon the river I came at length to Strasbourg, and from thence went to Heidelberg, where I was received again by the prince elector and princess with much kindness, and viewed at leisure the fair library there, the gardens, and other rarities of that place; and here I found my horses I lent to Sandilands in good plight, which I then bestowed upon some servants of the prince, in way of retribution for my welcome thither. From hence, Sir George Calvert* and myself went by water for the most part to the Low Countries, where, taking leave of each other, I went straight to his excellency, who did extraordinarily welcome me, insomuch that it was observed that he did never outwardly make so much of any one as myself.

It happened this summer that the Low Country army was not drawn into the field, so that the Prince of Orange passed his time at playing at chess with me after dinner, or in going to Reswick with him to see

* Afterwards Lord Baltimore. See an account of him in the catalogue of "*Royal and Noble Authors*," Vol. II.

his great horses, or in making love, in which also he used me as his companion, yet so that I saw nothing openly more than might argue a civil familiarity. When I was at any time from him, I did by his good leave endeavor to raise a troop of horse for the Duke of Savoy's service, as having obtained a commission to that purpose for my brother William, then an officer in the Low Country. Having these men in readiness, I sent word to the Count Scarnafigi thereof, who was now ambassador in England, telling him that if he would send money my brother was ready to go.

Scarnafigi answered me, that he expected money in England, and that as soon as he received it, he would send over so much as would pay an hundred horse; but a peace betwixt him and the Spaniard being concluded not long after at Asti, the whole charge of keeping this horse fell upon me, without ever to this day receiving any recompense.

Winter now approaching, and nothing more to be done that year, I went to the Brill to take shipping for England. Sir Edward Conway, who was then governor at that place, and afterwards secretary of state, taking notice of my being there, came to me, and invited me every day to come to him, while I attended only for a wind; which serving at last for my journey, Sir Edward Conway conducted me to the ship, into which as soon as I was entered he caused six pieces of ordnance to be discharged for my farewell. I was scarce gone a league into the sea, when the wind turned contrary, and forced me back again; returning thus to the Brill, Sir Edward Conway welcomed me as before; and now after some three or four days, the wind serving he conducted me again to the ship, and bestowed six volleys of ordnance upon me. I was now about half-

way to England, when a most cruel storm arose, which tore our sails and spent our masts, insomuch that the master of our ship gave us all for lost, as the wind was extreme high and together contrary; we were carried at last, though with much difficulty, back again to the Brill, where Sir Edward Conway did congratulate my escape, saying, he believed certainly that, considering the weather, I must needs be cast away.

After some stay here with my former welcome, the wind being now fair, I was conducted again to my ship by Sir Edward Conway, and the same volleys of shot given me, and was now scarce out of the haven when the wind again turned contrary, and drove me back. This made me resolve to try my fortune here no longer; hiring a small bark, therefore, I went to the sluice, and from thence to Ostend, where finding company I went to Brussels. In the inn where I lay here an ordinary was kept, to which divers noblemen and principal officers of the Spanish army resorted; sitting among these at dinner, the next day after my arrival, no man knowing me, or informing himself who I was, they fell into discourse of divers matters in Italian, Spanish, and French, and at last three of them, one after another, began to speak of King James my master in a very scornful manner. I thought with myself then, that if I was a base fellow, I need not take any notice thereof, since no man knew me to be an Englishman, or that I did so much as understand their language; but my heart burning within me, I, putting off my hat, arose from the table, and turning myself to those that sat at the upper end, who had said nothing to the king my master's prejudice, I told them in Italian: "Son Inglese (I am an Englishman), and should be unworthy to live if I suffered these words to be spoken of the king

my master"; and therewithal, turning myself to those who had injured the king, I said, "You have spoken falsely, and I will fight with you all." Those at the upper end of the table, finding I had so much reason on my part, did sharply check those I questioned, and, to be brief, made them ask the king's forgiveness, wherewith also, the king's health being drank round about the table, I departed thence to Dunkirk, and thence to Graveling, where I saw, though unknown, an English gentlewoman enter into a nunnery there. I went thence to Calais; it was now extreme foul weather, and I could find no master of a ship willing to adventure to sea; howbeit my impatience was such that I demanded of a poor fisherman there whether he would go; he answered his ship was worse than any in the haven, as being open above and without any deck, besides that it was old; "but," saith he, "I care for my life as little as you do, and if you will go, my boat is at your service."

I was now scarce out of the haven when a high grown sea had almost overwhelmed us, the waves coming in very fast into our ship, which we laded out again the best we could; notwithstanding which we expected every minute to be cast away. It pleased God yet, before we were gone six leagues into the sea, to cease the tempest, and give us a fair passage over to the Downs; where, after giving God thanks for my delivery from this most needless danger that ever I did run, I went to London. I had not been here ten days when a quartan ague seized on me, which held me for a year and a half without intermission, and a year and a half longer at spring and fall; the good days I had during all this sickness I employed in study, the ill being spent in as sharp and long fits as I think ever

any man endured, which brought me at last to be so lean and yellow, that scarce any man did know me. It happened during this sickness, that I walked abroad one day towards Whitehall, where meeting with one Emerson, who spoke very disgraceful words of Sir Robert Harley, being then my dear friend, my weakness could not hinder me to be sensible of my friend's dishonor; shaking him therefore by a long beard he wore, I stepped a little aside and drew my sword in the street, Captain Thomas Scriven, a friend of mine, being not far off on one side, and divers friends of his on the other side; all that saw me wondered how I could go, being so weak and consumed as I was, but much more that I would offer to fight: howsoever, Emerson, instead of drawing his sword, ran away into Suffolk House, and afterwards informed the lords of the council of what I had done; who, not long after sending for me, did not so much reprehend my taking part with my friend, as that I would adventure to fight being in such a bad condition of health. Before I came wholly out of my sickness, Sir George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, came into the king's favor; this cavalier, meeting me accidentally at the Lady Stanop's* house, came to me, and told me he had heard so much of my worth, as he would think himself happy if, by his credit with the king, he could do me any service; I humbly thanked him, but told him that for the present I had need of nothing so much as health, but that if ever I had ambition, I should take the boldness to make my address by him.

I was no sooner perfectly recovered of this long sickness but the Earl of Oxford and myself resolved to

* Catherine, daughter of Francis Lord Hastings, first wife of Philip Lord Stanhope, afterwards created Earl of Chesterfield.

raise two regiments for the service of the Venetians. While we were making ready for this journey, the king, having an occasion to send an ambassador into France, required Sir George Villiers to present him with the names of the fittest men for that employment that he knew ; whereupon eighteen names, among which mine was, being written in a paper, were presented to him. The king presently chose me, yet so as he desired first to have the approbation of his privy council, who, confirming his majesty's choice, sent a messenger to my house among gardens, near the Old Exchange, requiring me to come presently to them ; myself, little knowing then the honor intended me, asked the messenger whether I had done any fault, that the lords sent for me so suddenly ; wishing him to tell the lords that I was going to dinner, and would afterwards attend them. I had scarce dined, when another messenger was sent ; this made me hasten to Whitehall, where I was no sooner come, but the lords saluted me by the name of lord ambassador of France. I told their lordships, thereupon, that I was glad it was no worse, and that I doubted that by their speedy sending for me some complaint, though false, might be made against me.

My first commission was, to renew the oath of alliance betwixt the two crowns, for which purpose I was extraordinary ambassador, which being done, I was to reside there as ordinary. I had received now about six or seven hundred pounds towards the charges of my journey, and locked it in certain coffers in my house, when the night following, about one of the clock, I could hear divers men speak and knock at the door, in that part of the house where none did lie but myself, my wife and her attendants, my servants being lodged in another house not far off ; as soon as I heard the

noise, I suspected presently they came to rob me of my money; howsoever I thought fit to rise, and go to the window to know who they were; the first word I heard was, "Darest thou come down, Welshman?" which I no sooner heard, but, taking a sword in one hand, and a little target in the other, I did in my shirt run down the stairs, open the doors suddenly, and charged ten or twelve of them with that fury that they ran away, some throwing away their halberts, others hurting their fellows to make them go faster in a narrow way they were to pass; in which disordered manner I drove them to the middle of the street by the Exchange, where, finding my bare feet hurt by the stones I trod on, I thought fit to return home, and leave them to their flight. My servants, hearing the noise, by this time were got up, and demanded whether I would have them pursue those rogues that fled away; but I answering that I thought they were out of their reach, we returned home together.

While I was preparing myself for my journey, it happened that I, passing through the Inner Temple one day, and encountering Sir Robert Vaughan in this country, some harsh words passed betwixt us, which occasioned him at the persuasion of others, whom I will not nominate, to send me a challenge; this was brought me at my house in Blackfriars by Captain Charles Price upon a Sunday about one of the clock in the afternoon; when I had read it, I told Charles Price that I did ordinarily bestow this day in devotion, nevertheless, that I would meet Sir Robert Vaughan presently, and gave him thereupon the length of my sword, demanding whether he brought any second with him; to which Charles Price replying that he would be in the field with him, I told my brother Sir Henry

Herbert, then present, thereof, who readily offering himself to be my second, nothing was wanting now but the place to be agreed upon betwixt us, which was not far from the waterside near Chelsea.

My brother and I, taking boat presently, came to the place, where after we had stayed about two hours in vain, I desired my brother to go to Sir Robert Vaughan's lodging, and tell him that I now attended his coming a great while, and that I desired him to come away speedily ; hereupon my brother went, and after a while returning back again, he told me they were not ready yet ; I attended then about an hour and a half longer, but as he did not come yet, I sent my brother a second time to call him away, and to tell him I caught cold, nevertheless that I would stay there till sunset ; my brother yet could not bring him along, but returned himself to the place, where we stayed together till half an hour after sunset, and then returned home.

The next day the Earl of Worcester,* by the king's command, forbid me to receive any message or letter from Sir Robert Vaughan, and advertised me withal, that the king had given him charge to end the business betwixt us, for which purpose he desired me to come before him the next day about two of the clock ; at which time, after the earl had told me, that being now made ambassador and a public person, I ought not to entertain private quarrels ; after which, without much ado, he ended the business betwixt Sir Robert Vaughan and myself : it was thought by some, that this would make me lose my place, I being under so great an obligation to the king for my employment in France ; but Sir George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Bucking-

* Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy seal and Knight of the Garter.

ham, told me he would warrant me for this one time, but I must do so no more.

I was now almost ready for my journey, and had received already as choice a company of gentlemen for my attendants as I think ever followed an ambassador; when some of my private friends told me that I was not to trust so much to my pay from the exchequer, but that it was necessary for me to take letters of credit with me, for as much money as I could well procure. Informing myself hereupon who had furnished the last ambassador, I was told Monsieur Savage, a Frenchman; coming to his house, I demanded whether he would help me with moneys in France, as he had done the last ambassador; he said he did not know me, but would inform himself better who I was; departing thus from him, I went to Signor Burlamacchi, a man of great credit in those times, and demanded of him the same; his answer was, that he knew me to be a man of honor, and I had kept my word with everybody; whereupon, also going to his study, gave me a letter of credit to one Monsieur de Langherac in Paris, for £2000 sterling. I then demanded what security he expected for this money; he said he would have nothing but my promise; I told him he had put a great obligation upon me, and that I would strive to acquit myself of it the best I could.

Having now a good sum of money in my coffers, and this letter of credit, I made ready for my journey. The day I went out of London I remember, was the same in which Queen Anne was carried to burial, which was a sad spectacle to all that had occasion to honor her. My first night's journey was to Gravesend, where being at supper in my inn, Monsieur Savage, formerly mentioned, came to me, and told me, that whereas I had

spoken to him for a letter of credit, he had made one which he thought would be to my contentment; I demanded to whom it was directed; he said to Monsieur Tallemant and Rambouillet in Paris; I asked then what they were worth; he said above one hundred thousand pounds sterling; I demanded how much this letter of credit was; he said for as much as I should have need of; I asked what security he required; he said nothing but my word, which he had heard was inviolable.

From Gravesend, by easy journeys, I went to Dover, where I took shipping, with a train of a hundred and odd persons, and arrived shortly after at Calais, where I remember my cheer was twice as good as at Dover, and my reckoning half as cheap; from whence I went to Boulogne, Monstreville, Abbeville, Amiens, and in two days thence to St. Denis near Paris, where I was met with a great train of coaches, that were sent to receive me, as also by the Master of the Ceremonies, and Monsieur Mennon, my fellow-scholar, with Monsieur Disancour, who then kept an academy, and brought with him a brave company of gentlemen on great horses to attend me into town.

It was now somewhat late when I entered Paris, upon a Saturday night; I was but newly settled in my lodging, when a secretary of the Spanish ambassador there told me that his lord desired to have the first audience from me, and therefore requested he might see me the next morning; I replied it was a day I gave wholly to devotion, and therefore entreated him to stay until some more convenient time: the secretary replied that his master did hold it no less holy; howbeit that his respect to me was such that he would prefer *the desire* he had to serve me before all other con-

siderations ; howsoever, I put him off until Monday following.

Not long after I took a house in Faubourg St. Germain, Rue Tournon, which cost me £200 sterling yearly ; having furnished the house richly, and lodged all my train, I prepared for a journey to Tours and Touraine, where the French court then was : being come hither in extreme hot weather, I demanded audience of the king and queen, which being granted, I did assure the king of the great affection the king my master bore him, not only out of the ancient alliance betwixt the two crowns, but because Henry the Fourth and the king my master had stipulated with each other, that whensoever any one of them died, the survivor should take care of the other's child : I assured him, farther, that no charge was so much imposed upon me by my instructions, as that I should do good offices betwixt both kingdoms, and therefore that it were a great fault in me if I behaved myself otherwise than with all respect to his majesty : this being done, I presented to the king a letter of credence from the king my master : the king assured me of a reciprocal affection to the king my master, and of my particular welcome to his court ; his words were never many, as being so extreme a stutterer that he would sometimes hold his tongue out of his mouth a good while before he could speak so much as one word ; he had besides a double row of teeth, and was observed seldom or never to spit or blow his nose, or to sweat much, though he were very laborious, and almost indefatigable in his exercises of hunting and hawking, to which he was much addicted : neither did it hinder him, though he was burst in his body, as we call it, or herniosus ; for he was poted in those sports, though oftentimes on foot, to tire

not only his courtiers, but even his lackeys, being equally insensible, as was thought, either of heat or cold; his understanding and natural parts were as good as could be expected in one that was brought up in so much ignorance, which was on purpose so done that he might be the longer governed; howbeit, he acquired in time a great knowledge in affairs, as conversing for the most part with wise and active persons. He was noted to have two qualities incident to all who were ignorantly brought up, suspicion and dissimulation; for as ignorant persons walk so much in the dark, they cannot be exempt from fear of stumbling; and as they are likewise deprived of, or deficient in those true principles, by which they should govern both public and private actions in a wise, solid, and demonstrative way, they strive commonly to supply these imperfections with covert arts, which, although it may be sometimes excusable in necessitous persons, and be indeed frequent among those who negotiate in small matters, yet condemnable in princes, who, proceeding upon foundations of reason and strength, ought not to submit themselves to such poor helps; howbeit, I must observe that neither his fears did take away his courage when there was occasion to use it, nor his dissimulation extend itself to the doing of private mischiefs to his subjects, either of one or the other religion: his favorite was one Monsieur de Luynes, who in his nonage gained much upon the king by making hawks fly at all little birds in his gardens, and by making some of those little birds again catch butterflies; and had the king used him for no other purpose, he might have been tolerated; but as, when the king came to a riper age, the government of public affairs was drawn chiefly from his counsels, not a few errors were committed.

The queen-mother, princes, and nobles of that kingdom repined that his advices to the king should be so prevalent, which also at last caused a civil war in that kingdom. How unfit this man was for the credit he had with the king may be argued by this, that when there was question made about some business in Bohemia, he demanded whether it was an inland country or lay upon the sea; and thus much for the present of the king and his favorite.

After my audience with the king, I had another from the queen, being sister to the King of Spain. I had little to say unto her but some compliments on the king my master's part, but such compliments as her sex and quality were capable of. This queen was exceedingly fair, like those of the House of Austria, and together of so mild and good a condition she was never noted to have done ill offices to any, but to have mediated as much as was possible for her, in satisfaction of those who had any suit to the king, as far as their cause would bear. She had now been married divers years without having any children, although so ripe for them that nothing seemed to be wanting on her part. I remember her the more particularly that she showed publicly at my audiences that favor to me as not only my servants but divers others took notice of it. After this my first audience, I went to see Monsieur de Luyues and the principal ministers of state, as also the princes and princesses, and ladies then in the court, and particularly the Princess of Conti, from whom I carried the scarf formerly mentioned; and this is as much as I shall declare in this place concerning my negotiation with the king and state; my purpose being, if God sends me life, to set them forth apart, as having the copies of all my despatches in a great trunk in my house

in London; and considering that in the time of my stay there, there were divers civil wars in that country, and that the prince, now king, passed, with my Lord of Buckingham and others, through France into Spain, and the business of the elector palatine in Bohemia, and the battle of Prague, and divers other memorable accidents, both of state and war, happened during the time of my employment, I conceive a narration of them may be worth the seeing to them who have it not from a better hand. I shall only, therefore, relate here, as they come into my memory, certain little passages, which may serve in some part to declare the history of my life.

Coming back from Tours to Paris, I gave the best order I could concerning the expenses of my house, family, and stable, that I might settle all things as near as was possible in a certain course; allowing, according to the manner of France, so many pounds of beef, mutton, veal, and pork, and so much also in turkeys, capons, pheasants, partridges, and all other fowls, as also pies and tarts after the French manner, and after all this a dozen dishes of sweetmeats every meal constantly: the ordering of these things was the heavier to me, that my wife flatly refused to come over into France, as being now entered into a dropsy, which also had kept her without children for many years; I was constrained, therefore, to make use of a steward, who was understanding and diligent, but no very honest man; my chief secretary was William Boswell, now the king's agent in the Low Countries; my secretary for the French tongue was one Monsieur Ozier, who afterwards was the king's agent in France; the gentleman of my horse was Monsieur de Meny, who afterwards commanded a thousand horse in the wars of Germany, and proved a very gallant gentleman; Mr.

Crofts was one of my principal gentlemen, and afterwards made the king's cup-bearer; and Thomas Caage, that excellent wit, the king's carver; Edmund Tavernei, whom I made my under secretary, was afterwards chief secretary to the lord chamberlain; and one Mr. Smith, secretary to the Earl of Northumberland: I nominate these, and could many more, that came to very good fortunes afterwards, because I may verify that which I said before concerning the gentlemen that attended me.

When I came to Paris the English and French were in very ill intelligence with each other, insomuch that one Buckley, coming then to me, said he was assaulted and hurt upon Pontneuf, only because he was an Englishman; nevertheless, after I had been in Paris about a month, all the English were so welcome thither that no other nation was so acceptable amongst them, insomuch that my gentlemen having a quarrel with some debauched French, who in their drunkenness quarrelled with them, divers principal gentlemen of that nation offered themselves to assist my people with their swords.

It happened one day that my cousin Oliver Herbert, and George Radney, being gentlemen who attended me, and Henry Whittingham, my butler, had a quarrel with some French, upon I know not what frivolous occasion; it happened my cousin Oliver Herbert had for his opposite a fencer belonging to the Prince of Condé, who was dangerously hurt by him in divers places; but as the house or hostel of the Prince of Condé was not far off, and himself well beloved in those quarters, the French, in great multitudes arising, drove away the three above-mentioned into my house, pursuing them within the gates; I, perceiving this at a window, ran out with my sword, which the people no sooner saw, but they fled again as fast as ever they

entered; howsoever, the Prince of Condé his fencer was in that danger of his life that Oliver Herbert was forced to fly France, which, that he might do the better, I paid the said fencer two hundred crowns, or sixty pounds sterling, for his hurt and cures.

The plague being now hot in Paris, I desired the Duke of Montmorency to lend me the castle of Merlou, where I lived in the time of the most noble father, which he willingly granted; removing thither, I enjoyed that sweet place and country, wherein I found not a few that welcomed me out of their ancient acquaintance.

On the one side of me was the Baron de Montarterre, of the reformed religion, and Monsieur de Bouteville on the other, who, though young at the time, proved afterwards to be that brave cavalier which all France did so much celebrate; in both their castles likewise were ladies of much beauty and discretion, and particularly a sister of Bouteville, thought to be one of the chief perfections of the time, whose company yielded some divertisement when my public occasions did suffer it.

Winter being now come, I returned to my house in Paris, and prepared for renewing the oath of alliance betwixt the two crowns, for which, as I said formerly, I had an extraordinary commission; nevertheless, the king put off the business to as long a time as he well could. In the mean while Prince Henry of Nassau, brother to Prince Maurice, coming to Paris, was met and much welcomed by me, as being obliged to him, no less than to his brother in the Low Countries. This prince and all his train were feasted by me at Paris with a hundred dishes, costing, as I remember, in all a hundred pounds.

The French king at last resolving upon a day for performing the ceremony betwixt the two crowns above-

mentioned, myself and all my train put ourselves into that sumptuous equipage that I remember it cost me one way or another above one thousand pounds. And truly, the magnificence of it was such, as a little French book was presently printed thereof: this being done, I resided here in the quality of an ordinary ambassador.

And now I shall mention some particular passages concerning myself, without entering yet any way into the whole frame and context of my negotiation, reserving them, as I said before, to a particular treatise. I spent my time much in the visits of the princes, council of state, and great persons of the French kingdom, who did ever punctually requite my visits: the like I did also to the chief ambassadors there, among whom, the Venetian, Low Country, Savoy, and the united princes in Germany ambassadors did bear me that respect, that they usually met in my house, to advise together concerning the great affairs of that time; for, as the Spaniard then was so potent that he seemed to affect an universal monarchy, all the above-mentioned ambassadors did in one common interest strive to oppose him: all our endeavors yet could not hinder but that he both publicly prevailed in his attempts abroad, and privately did corrupt divers of the principal ministers of state in this kingdom. I came to discover this by many ways, but by none more effectually than by the means of an Italian, who returned over by letters of exchange the moneys the Spanish ambassador received for his occasions in France; for I perceived that when the said Italian was to receive an extraordinary great sum for the Spanish ambassador's use, the whole face of affairs was presently changed, insomuch that neither my reasons, nor the ambassadors above-mentioned, how valid soever, could prevail;

though yet afterwards we found means together to reduce affairs to their former train, till some other new great sum coming to the Spanish ambassador's hand, and from thence to the aforesaid ministers of state, altered all. Howbeit, divers visits passed betwixt the Spanish ambassador and myself, in one of which he told me that though our interests were divers, yet we might continue friendship in our particular persons; for, said he, "it can be no occasion of offence betwixt us that each of us strive the best he can to serve the king his master." I disliked not his reasons, though yet I could not omit to tell him that I would maintain the dignity of the king my master the best I could; and this I said, because the Spanish ambassador had taken place of the English in the time of Henry the Fourth in this fashion, they both meeting in an antechamber to the secretary of state, the Spanish ambassador leaning to the wall in that posture that he took the hand of the English ambassador, said publicly, "I hold this place in the right of the king my master"; which small punctilio, being not resented by our ambassador at that time, gave the Spaniard occasion to brag that he had taken the hand from our ambassador. This made me more watchful to regain the honor which the Spaniard pretended to have gotten herein, so that, though the ambassador in his visits often repeated the words above-mentioned, being in Spanish, "*Que cada uno haga lo que pudiere por su amo,*" — "Let every man do the best he can for his master," — I attended the occasion to write my master; it happened one day that both of us going to the French king for our several affairs, the Spanish ambassador between Paris and Estampes, being upon his way, before me in his coach, with a train of about sixteen or eighteen persons on

horseback, I, following him in my coach with about ten or twelve horses, found that either I must go the Spanish pace, which is slow, or if I hasted to pass him, that I must hazard the suffering of some affront like unto that our former ambassador received; proposing hereupon to my gentlemen the whole business, I told them that I meant to redeem the honor of the king my master some way or other, demanding farther whether they would assist me; which they promising, I bid the coachman drive on; the Spanish ambassador seeing me approach, and imagining what my intention was, sent a gentleman to me, to tell me he desired to salute me, which I accepting, the gentleman returned to the ambassador, who alighting from his coach attended me in the middle of the highway, which being perceived by me I alighted also, when some extravagant compliments having passed betwixt us, the Spanish ambassador took his leave of me, went to a dry ditch not far off, but indeed to hold the upper hand of me while I passed by in my coach, which being observed by me I left my coach and, getting upon a spare horse I had there, rode into the said dry ditch, and, telling him aloud that I knew well why he stood there, bid him afterwards get to his coach, for I must ride that way; the Spanish ambassador, who understood me well, went to his coach grumbling and discontented, though yet neither he nor his train did any more than look one upon another in a confused manner; my coach this while passing by the ambassador on the same side I was, I shortly after left my horse and got into it: it happened this while, that one of my coach horses having lost a shoe, I thought fit to stay at a smith's forge, about a quarter of a mile before; this shoe could not be put on so soon but that the

Spanish ambassador overtook us, and might indeed have passed us, but that he thought I would give him another affront; attending therefore the smith's leisure, he stayed in the highway to our no little admiration, until my horse was shod; we continued our journey to Estampes, the Spanish ambassador following us still at a good distance.

I should scarce have mentioned this passage but that the Spaniards do so much stand upon their Pundonores; for confirming whereof I have thought fit to remember the answer a Spanish ambassador made to Philip the Second, King of Spain, who, finding fault with him for neglecting a business of great importance in Italy, because he could not agree with the French ambassador about some such Pundonore as this, said to him, "Como a dexado una cosa de importancia per una cerimonia!"—"How, have you left a business of importance for a ceremony?" The ambassador boldly replied to his master, "Como por una cerimonia? Vuesa majestas misma no es sino una cerimonia,"—"How, for a ceremony? Your majesty's self is but a ceremony."

Howsoever the Spanish ambassador taking no notice publicly of the advantage I had of him herein, dissembled it, as I heard, until he could find some fit occasion to resent this passage, which yet he never did to this day.

Among the visits I rendered to the grantees of France, one of the principal I made was to that brave general the Duke of Lesdigueres, who was now grown very old and deaf; his first words to me were, "Monsieur, you must do me the honor to speak high, for I am deaf"; my answer to him was, "You was born to command and not to obey; it is enough if others have

ears to hear you": this compliment took him much, and indeed I have a manuscript of his military precepts and observations, which I value at a great price.

I shall relate now some things concerning myself, which, though they may seem scarce credible, yet before God are true. I had been now in France about a year and a half, when my tailor, Andrew Henly of Basil, who now lives in Blackfriars, demanded of me half a yard of satin to make me a suit more than I was accustomed to give, of which I required a reason, saying, I was not fatter now than when I came to France; he answered, "It was true, but you are taller": whereunto when I would give no credit, he brought his old measures, and made it appear that they did not reach to their just places; I told him I knew not how this happened, but howsoever he should have half a yard more, and that when I came into England I would clear the doubt, for a little before my departure thence, I remember William Earl of Pembroke and myself did measure heights together at the request of the Countess of Bedford, and he was then higher than I by about the breadth of my little finger: at my return therefore into England I measured again with the same earl, and to both our great wonders found myself taller than he by the breadth of a little finger; which growth of mine I could attribute to no other cause but to my quartan ague formerly mentioned, which, when it quitted me, left me in a more perfect health than I formerly enjoyed.

I weighed myself in balances often with men lower than myself by the head, and in their bodies slenderer, and yet was found lighter than they, as Sir John Davers, Knight, and Richard Griffiths, now living, can witness, with both whom I have been weighed; I had also, and

have still, a pulse on the crown of my head ; it is well known to those that wait in my chamber that the shirts, waistcoats, and other garments I wear next my body are sweet, beyond what either easily can be believed, or hath been observed in any else, which sweetness also was found to be in my breath above others, before I used to take tobacco, which towards my latter time I was forced to take against certain rheums and catarrhs that trouble me, which yet did not taint my breath for any long time ; I scarce ever felt cold in my life, though yet so subject to catarrh that I think no man ever was more obnoxious to it ; all which I do in a familiar way mention to my posterity, though otherwise they might be thought scarce worth the writing.

7 The effect of my being sent into France by the king my master being to hold all good intelligence betwixt both crowns, my employment was both noble and pleasing, and my pains not great, France having no design at that time upon England, and King James being that pacific prince all the world knew. And thus, besides the times I spent in treaties and negotiations I had either with the ministers of state in France, or foreign ambassadors residing in Paris, I had spare time, not only for my book, but for visits to divers grandees, for little more ends than obtaining some intelligence of the affairs of that kingdom and civil conversation, for which their free, generous, and cheerful company was no little motive ; persons of all quality being so addicted to have mutual entertainment with each other, that in calm weather one might find all the noble and good company in Paris of both sexes, either in the garden of the Tuileries, or in the park of Bois de Vincennes, they thinking it almost an incivility to refuse their presence and free discourse to any who were

capable of coming to those places, either under the recommendation of good parts, or but so much as handsome clothes and a good equipage ; when foul weather was, they spent their time in visits at each other's houses, where they interchanged civil discourses, or heard music, or fell to dancing, using, according to the manner of that country, all the reasonable liberties they could with their honor ; while their manner was, either in the garden of the Tuileries or elsewhere if any one, discoursing with a lady, did see some other of good fashion approach to her, he would leave her and go to some other lady, he who conversed with her at that time quitting her also and going to some other, that so addresses might be made equal and free to all without scruple on any part, neither was exception made or quarrel begun upon these terms.

It happened one day that I being ready to return from the Tuileries, about eight of the clock in the summer, with intention to write a despatch to the king about some intelligence I had received there, the queen attended with her principal ladies, without so much as one cavalier, did enter the gardens ; I stayed on one side of an alley there to do my reverence to her and the rest, and so return to my house, when the queen, perceiving me, stayed awhile as if she expected I should attend her, but as I stirred not more than to give her that great respect I owed her, the Princess of Conti, who was next, called me to her, and said I must go along with her ; but I excusing myself upon occasion of a present despatch which I was to make unto his majesty, the Duchess of Antador, who followed her, came to me, and said I must not refuse her, whereupon, leading her by her arms, according to the manner of that country, the Princess of Conti, offended that I had denied her that

civility, which I had yielded to another, took me off, after she had demanded the consent of the duchess, but the queen then also staying, I left the princess, and with all due humility, went to the queen and led her by the arms, walking thus to a place in the garden where some orange-trees grew, and here, discoursing with her majesty bareheaded, some small shot fell on both our heads; the occasion whereof was this, the king being in the garden, and shooting at a bird in the air, which he did with much perfection, the descent of his shot fell just upon us; the queen was much startled herewith, when I, coming nearer to her, demanded whether she had received any harm; to which she answering no, and therewith taking two or three small pellets from her hair, it was thought fit to send a gardener to the king, to tell him that her majesty was there, and that he should shoot no more that way, which was no sooner heard among the nobles that attended him, but many of them leaving him came to the queen and ladies, among whom was Monsieur Le Grand,* who, finding the queen still discoursing with me, stole behind her, and, letting fall gently some comfits he had in his pocket upon the queen's hair, gave her occasion to apprehend that some shot had fallen on her again; turning hereupon to Monsieur Le Grand, I said that I marvelled that so old a courtier as he was could find no means to entertain ladies but by making them afraid; but the queen shortly after returning to her lodging, I took my leave of her and came home: all which passage I have thought fit to set down, the accident above-mentioned being so strange that it can hardly be paralleled.

It fell out one day that the Prince of Condé coming to my house, some speech happened concerning the

* Roger, Duc de Bellegarde, Grand Escuyer.

king my master, in whom, though he acknowledged much learning, knowledge, clemency, and divers other virtues, yet he said he had heard that the king was much given to cursing; I answered that it was out of his gentleness; but the prince demanding how cursing could be a gentleness, I replied, yes, for though he could punish men himself, yet he left them to God to punish; which defence of the king my master was afterwards much celebrated in the French court.

Monsieur de Luynes,* continuing still the king's favorite, advised him to war against his subjects of the reformed religion in France; saying he would neither be a great prince as long as he suffered so puissant a party to remain within his dominions, nor could justly style himself the most Christian king, as long as he permitted such heretics to be in that great number they were, or to hold those strong places which by public edict were assigned to them, and therefore that he should extirpate them as the Spaniards had done the Moors, who are all banished into other countries, as we may find in their histories: this counsel, although approved by the young king, was yet disliked by other grave and wise persons about him, and particularly by the Chancellor Sillery and the President Jannin, who thought better to have a peace which had two religions, than a war that had none. Howbeit, the design of Luynes was applauded, not only by the Jesuit party in France but by some princes and other martial persons, inso-much that the Duke of Guise,† coming to see me one day, said that they should never be happy in France till those of the religion were rooted out; I answered that I wondered to hear him say so; and the duke de-

* Charles Albert, Duke of Luynes.

† Charles, son of Henry Duke of Guise, who was killed at Blois.

manding why, I replied that whensoever those of the religion were put down, the turn of the great persons and governors of provinces of that kingdom would be next; and that though the present king were a good prince, yet that their successors may be otherwise, and that men did not know how soon princes might prove tyrants when they had nothing to fear; which speech of mine was fatal, since those of the religion were no sooner reduced into that weak condition in which now they are, but the governors of provinces were brought lower, and curbed much in their power and authority, and the Duke of Guise first of them all; so that I doubt not but my words were well remembered. Howsoever, the war now went on with much fervor, neither could I dissuade it, though using, according to the instructions I had from the king my master many arguments for that purpose. I was told often that if the reformation in France had been like that in England, where they observed we retained the hierarchy, together with decent rites and ceremonies in the church, as also holidays in the memory of saints, music in churches, and divers other testimonies, both of glorifying God and giving honor and reward to learning, they could much better have tolerated it; but such a rash and violent reformation as theirs was ought by no means to be approved; whereunto I answered that though the causes of departing from the church of Rome were taught and delivered by many sober and modest persons, yet that the reformation in great part was acted by the common people, whereas ours began at the prince of state, and therefore was more moderate, which reason I found did not displease them; I added farther, then, that the reformed religion in France *would easily enough admit a hierarchy, if they had*

sufficient means among them to maintain it, and that if their churches were as fair as those which the Roman Catholics had, they would use the more decent sorts of rites and ceremonies, and together like well of organs and choirs of singers, rather than make a breach or schism on that occasion; as for holidays, I doubted not but the principal persons and ministers of their religion would approve it much better than the common people, who, being laborers and artisans for the most part, had the advantages for many more days than the Roman Catholics for getting their living; howsoever, that those of the religion had been good cautions to make the Roman Catholic priests, if not better, yet at least more wary in their lives and actions; it being evident that since the reformation began among those of the religion, the Roman Catholics had divers ways reformed themselves, and abated not only much of the power they usurped over laics, but were more pious and continent than formerly. Lastly, that those of the religion acknowledged solely the king's authority in government of all affairs, whereas the other side held the regal power, not only inferior in divers points, but subordinate to the papal, nothing of which yet served to divert Monsieur de Luynes or the king from their resolutions.

The king having now assembled an army, and made some progress against those of the religion, I had instructions sent me from the king my master to mediate a peace, and if I could not prevail therein, to use some such words as may both argue his majesty's care of them of the religion, and together to let the French king know that he would not permit their total ruin and extirpation. The king was now going to lay siege to St. Jean d'Angely, when myself was newly

recovered of a fever at Paris, in which, besides the help of many able physicians, I had the comfort of divers visits from many principal grandees of France, and particularly the Princess of Conti, who would sit by my bedside two or three hours, and with cheerful discourse entertain me, though yet I was brought so low that I could scarce return anything by way of answer but thanks. The command yet which I received from the king my master quickened me, insomuch that by slow degrees I went into my coach, together with my train, towards St. Jean d'Angely. Being arrived within a small distance of that place, I found by divers circumstances that the effect of my negotiation had been discovered from England, and that I was not welcome thither; howbeit, having obtained an audience from the king, I exposed what I had in charge to say to him, to which yet I received no other answer but that I should go to Monsieur de Luynes, by whom I should know his majesty's intention. Repairing thus to him, I did find outwardly good reception, though yet I did not know how cunningly he proceeded to betray and frustrate my endeavors for those of the religion; for hiding a gentleman called Monsieur Arnaud behind the hangings in his chamber, who was then of the religion, but had promised to revolt to the king's side; this gentleman, as he himself confessed afterwards to the Earl of Carlisle, had in charge to relate unto those of the religion how little help they might expect from me, when he should tell them the answers which Monsieur de Luynes made me. Sitting thus in a chair before Monsieur de Luynes, he demanded the effect of my business; I answered that the king my master commanded me to mediate a peace betwixt his *majesty* and his subjects of the religion, and that I de-

sired to do it in all those fair and equal terms which might stand with the honor of France, and the good intelligence betwixt the two kingdoms; to which he returned this rude answer only, "What hath the king your master to do with our actions? Why doth he meddle with our affairs?" My reply was, that the king my master ought not to give an account of the reason which induced him hereunto, and as for me, it was enough to obey him; howbeit if he did ask me in more gentle terms, I should do the best I could to give him satisfaction. To which, though he answered no more than the word "Bien," or "Well," I pursuing my instruction said that the king my master, according to the mutual stipulation betwixt Henry the Fourth and himself, that the survivor of either of them should procure the tranquillity and peace of the other's estate, had sent this message; and that he had not only testified this his pious inclination heretofore in the late civil wars of France, but was desirous on this occasion also to show how much he stood affected to the good of the kingdom: besides, he hoped that when peace was established here, the French king might be the more easily disposed to assist the Palatine, who was an ancient friend and ally of the French crown. His reply to this was, "We will have none of your advices." Whereupon I said that I took those words for answer, and was sorry only that they did not understand sufficiently the affection and good will of the king my master; and since they rejected it upon those terms I had in charge to tell him, that we knew very well what we had to do. Luynes, seeming offended herewith, said, "Nous ne vous craignons pas," or, "We are not afraid of you"; I replied hereupon, that "if you had said you had not loved

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us, I should have believed you, but should have returned you another answer"; in the mean while that I had no more to say than what I told him formerly, which was that we knew what we had to do. This, though somewhat less than was in my instructions, so angered him that in much passion he said, "Par Dieu, si vous n'étiez monsieur l'ambassadeur, je vous traiterais d'un' autre sorte," — "By God, if you were not monsieur ambassador, I would use you after another fashion." My answer was, that as I was an ambassador, so I was also a gentleman; and therewithal laying my hand upon the hilt of my sword, told him there was that which should make him an answer, and so arose from my chair; to which Monsieur de Luynes made no reply, but, arising likewise from his chair, offered civilly to accompany me to the door; but I telling him there was no occasion for him to use ceremony after so rude an entertainment, I departed from him. From thence returning to my lodging, I spent three or four days afterwards in seeing the manner of the French discipline in making approaches to towns; at what time I remember, that, going in my coach within reach of cannon, those in the town imagining me to be an enemy, made many shots against me, which so affrighted my coachman that he durst drive no farther, whereupon, alighting, I bid him put the horses out of danger; and, notwithstanding many more shots were made against me, went on to the trenches, where one Seaton, a Scotchman, conducting me, showed me their works, in which I found little differing from the Low Country manner. Having satisfied myself in this manner, I thought fit to take my leave of the king, being at Cognac, the city of St. Jean d'Angely being now surrendered unto him; coming thus to a village

not far from Cognac, about ten of the clock at night, I found all the lodgings possessed by soldiers, so that, alighting in the market-place, I sent my servants to the inns to get some provision, who bringing me only six rye loaves, which I was doubtful whether I should bestow on myself and company or on my horses, Monsieur de Ponts, a French nobleman of the religion, attended with a brave train, hearing of my being there, offered me lodging in his castle near adjoining: I told him it was a great courtesy at that time, yet I could not with my honor accept it, since I knew it would endanger him, my business to those parts being in favor of those of the religion, and the chief ministers of state in France being jealous of my holding intelligence with him; howbeit, if he would procure me lodging in the town, I should take it kindly. Whereupon sending his servants round about the town, he found at last in the house of one of his tenants a chamber, to which when he had conducted me, and together gotten some little accommodation for myself and horses, I desired him to depart to his lodgings, he being then in a place which his enemies, the king's soldiers, had possessed: all which was not so silently carried but that the said nobleman was accused afterwards at the French court upon suspicion of holding correspondence with me, whereof it was my fortune to clear him.

Coming next day to Cognac, the Marshal de St. Geran, my noble friend, privately met me, and said I was not in a place of surety there, as having offended Monsieur de Luynes, who was the king's favorite, desiring me withal to advise what I had to do: I told him I was in a place of surety wheresoever I had my sword by my side, and that I intended to demand audience of the king; which also being obtained, I found

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not so cold a reception as I thought to meet with, in-
somuch that I parted with his majesty to all outward
appearance in very good terms.

From hence returning to Paris shortly after, I found
myself welcome to all those ministers of state there and
noblemen, who either envied the greatness, or loved not
the insolencies of Monsieur de Luynes; by whom also
I was told that the said Luynes had intended to send a
brother of his into England with an embassy, the effect
whereof should be chiefly to complain against me, and
to obtain that I should be repealed; and that he in-
tended to relate the passages betwixt us at St. Jean
d'Angely in a much different manner from that I re-
ported, and that he would charge me with giving the
first offence. After thanks for this advertisement, I
told them my relation of the business betwixt us, in
the manner I delivered, was true, and that I would
justify it with my sword, at which they, being nothing
scandalized, wished me good fortune.

The ambassador into England following shortly
after, with a huge train in a sumptuous manner,
and an accusation framed against me, I was sent for
home, of which I was glad, my payment being so
ill that I was run far into debt with my merchants,
who had assisted me now with three or four thousand
pounds more than I was able at the present to discharge.
Coming thus to court, the Duke of Buckingham, who
was then my noble friend, informed me at large of
the objections represented by the French ambassa-
dor; to which, when I had made my defence in the
manner above related, I added that I was ready to
make good all that I had said with my sword; and
shortly after I did, in the presence of his majesty and
the Duke of Buckingham, humbly desire leave to send

a trumpet to Monsieur de Luynes, to offer him the combat upon terms that passed betwixt us; which was not permitted, otherwise than that they would take my offer into consideration. Howsoever, notice being publicly taken of this my desire, much occasion of speech was given, every man that heard thereof much favoring me, but the Duke of Luynes's death following shortly after, the business betwixt us was ended, and I commanded to return to my former charge in France. I did not yet presently go, as finding much difficulty to obtain the moneys due me from the exchequer, and therewith, as also by my own revenues, to satisfy my creditors in France. The Earl of Carlisle* this while being employed extraordinary ambassador to France, brought home a confirmation of the passages betwixt Monsieur de Luynes and myself; Monsieur de Arnaud, who stood behind the hangings, as above related, having verified all I said, insomuch that the king my master was well satisfied of my truth.

Having by this time cleared all my debts, when demanding new instructions from the king my master, the Earl of Carlisle brought me this message, that his majesty had that experience of my abilities and fidelity, that he would give me no instructions, but leave all things to my discretion, as knowing I would proceed with that circumspection as I should be better able to discern, upon emergent occasions, what was fit to be done, than that I should need to attend directions from hence; which, besides that they would be slow, might perchance be not so proper, or correspondent to the conjuncture of the great affairs then in agitation, both in France and Germany, and other parts of Chris-

* James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, Knight of the Garter, Master of the Great Wardrobe, and Ambassador in Germany and France.

tendom, and that these things therefore must be left to my vigilance, prudence, and fidelity. Whereupon I told his lordship that I took this as a singular expression of the trust his majesty reposed in me; howbeit that I desired his lordship to pardon me, if I said I had herein only received a greater power and latitude to err; and that I durst not trust my judgment so far as that I would presume to answer for all events in such factious and turbulent times, and therefore again did humbly desire new instructions, which I promised punctually to follow. The Earl of Carlisle, returning hereupon to the king, brought me yet no other answer back than that I formerly mentioned, and that his majesty did so much confide in me that he would limit me with no other instructions, but refer all to my discretion, promising together, that if matters proceeded not as well as might be wished, he would attribute the default to anything rather than to my not performing my duty.

Finding his majesty thus resolved, I humbly took leave of him, and my friends at court, and went to Monsieur Savage, when, demanding of him new letters of credit, his answer was, he could not furnish me as he had before, there being no limited sum expressed there, but that I should have as much as I needed; to which, though I answered that I had paid all, yet as Monsieur Savage replied that I had not paid it at the time agreed on, he said he could furnish me with a letter only for three thousand pounds, and nevertheless that he was confident I should have more if I required it, which I found true, for I took up afterwards upon my credit there as much more, as made in the whole five or six thousand pounds.

Coming thus to Paris, I found myself welcomed by *all the principal persons*, nobody that I found there

being either offended with the passages betwixt me and Monsieur de Luynes, or that were sorry for his death, in which number the queen's majesty seemed the most eminent person, as one who long since had hated him; whereupon, also, I cannot but remember this passage, that in an audience I had one day from the queen I demanded of her how far she would have assisted me with her good offices against Luynes. She replied, that what cause soever she might have to hate him, either by reason or by force, they would have made her to be of his side; to which I answered in Spanish, "No ay feurce por las Reynas,"—"There is no force for queens"; at which she smiled.

And now I began to proceed in all public affairs according to the liberty with which my master was pleased to honor me, confining myself to no rules but those of my own discretion. My negotiations in the mean while proving so successful that, during the remainder of my stay there, his majesty received much satisfaction concerning my carriage, as finding I had preserved his honor and interest in all great affairs then emergent in France, Germany, and other parts of Christendom; which work, being of great concernment, I found the easier, that his majesty's ambassadors and agents everywhere gave me perfect intelligence of all that happened within their precincts, insomuch that from Sir Henry Wotton, his majesty's ambassador at Venice, who was a learned and witty gentleman, I received all the news of Italy; as also from Sir Isaac Wake, who did more particularly acquaint me with the business of Savoy,* Valentina, and Switzerland; from Sir Francis Nethersole, his majesty's agent in Germany, and more particularly with the united princes

* The Valteline.

there, on the behalf of his son-in-law, the palatine or King of Bohemia, I received all the news of Germany; from Sir Dudley Carlton, his majesty's ambassador in the Low Countries, I received intelligence concerning all the affairs of that state; and from Mr. William Trumball, his majesty's agent at Brussels, all the affairs on that side; and lastly, from Sir Walter Aston, his majesty's ambassador in Spain, and after him from the Earl of Bristol and Lord Cottington, I had intelligence from the Spanish court; out of all whose relations, being compared together, I found matter enough to direct my judgment in all public proceedings; besides, in Paris I had the chief intelligence which came to either Monsieur de Langherac, the Low Country ambassador, or Monsieur Postek, agent for the united princes in Germany, and Signor Contarini, ambassador for Venice, and Signor Guiscardi, my particular friend, agent for Mantua, and Monsieur Gueretin, agent for the palatine or King of Bohemia, and Monsieur Villers, for the Suisse, and Monsieur Ainorant, agent for Geneva, by whose means, upon the resultance of the several advertisements given me, I found what I had to do.

The wars in Germany were now hot, when several French gentlemen came to me for recommendations to the Queen of Bohemia, whose service they desired to advance, which also I performed as effectually as I could; howbeit, as after the battle of Prague, the imperial side seemed wholly to prevail, these gentlemen had not the satisfaction expected. About this time, the Duke de Crouy, employed from Brussels to the French court, coming to see me, said by way of rhodomontade, as though he would not speak of our isles, yet he saw all the rest of the world must bow under the

Spaniard; to which I answered, "God be thanked they are not yet come to that pass, or when they were, they have this yet to comfort them, that at worst they should be but the same which you are now"; which speech of mine, being afterwards, I know not how, divulged, was much applauded by the French, as believing I intended that other countries should be but under the same severe government to which the Duke of Crouy and those within the Spanish dominions were subject.

It happened, one day, that the agent from Brussels and ambassador from the Low Countries came to see me immediately one after the other, to whom I said familiarly, that I thought that the inhabitants of the parts of the seventeen provinces which were under the Spaniards might be compared to horses in a stable, which, as they were finely curried, dressed, and fed, so they were well ridden also, spurred and galled; and that I thought the Low Country men were like to horses at grass, which, though they wanted so good keeping as the other had, yet might leap, kick, and fling, as much as they would: which freedom of mine displeased neither; or if the Low Country ambassador did think I had spoken a little too sharply, I pleased him afterwards, when, continuing my discourse, I told him that the states of the united provinces had within a narrow room shut up so much warlike provision both by sea and land, and together demonstrated such courage upon all occasions, that it seemed they had more need of enemies than of friends, which compliment I found did please him.

About this time, the French being jealous that the king my master would match the prince his son with the King of Spain's sister, and together relinquish his

alliance with France, myself, who did endeavor nothing more than to hold all good intelligence betwixt the two crowns, had enough to do. The Count de Gondomor, passing now from Spain into England, came to see me at Paris, about ten of the clock in the morning, when, after some compliments, he told me that he was to go towards England the next morning, and that he desired my coach to accompany him out of town. I told him after a free and merry manner he should not have my coach, and that if he demanded it, it was not because he needed coaches, the pope's nuncio, the emperor's ambassador, the Duke of Bavaria's agent, and others having coaches enough to furnish him, but because he would put a jealousy betwixt me and the French, as it I inclined more to the Spanish side than to theirs. Gondomor then, looking merrily upon me, said, "I will dine with you yet." I told him, by his good favor, he should not dine with me at that time, and that when I would entertain the ambassador of so great a king as his, it should not be upon my ordinary, but that I would make him a feast worthy of so great a person; howbeit, that he might see after what manner I lived, I desired some of my gentlemen to bring his gentlemen into the kitchen, where, after my usual manner, were three spits full of meat, divers pots of boiled meat, and an oven with store of pies in it, and a dresser board covered with all manner of good fowl, and some tarts, pans with tarts in them, after the French manner; after which, being conducted to another room, they were showed a dozen or sixteen dishes of sweetmeats, all which was but the ordinary allowance for my table. The Spaniards, returning now to Gondomor, told him what good cheer they found, notwithstanding which, I told Gondomor again that I

desired to be excused, if I thought this dinner unworthy of him, and that when occasion were, I should entertain him after a much better manner. Gondomor hereupon, coming near me, said he esteemed me much and that he meant only to put a trick upon me, which he found I had discovered, and that he thought that an Englishman had not known how to avoid handsomely a trick put upon him under show of civility; and that I ever should find him my friend, and would do me all the good offices he could in England, which also he really performed, as the Duke of Lenox and the Earl of Pembroke confirmed to me; Gondomor saying to them, that I was a man fit for employment, and that he thought Englishmen, though otherwise able persons, knew not how to make a denial handsomely, which yet I had done.

This Gondomor, being an able person, and dexterous in his negotiations, had so prevailed with King James, that his majesty resolved to pursue his treaty with Spain, and for that purpose to send his son, Prince Charles, in person to conclude the match; when, after some debate whether he should go in a public or private manner, it was at last resolved that he, attended with the Marquis of Buckingham and Sir Francis Cottington, his secretary, and Endimion Porter, and Mr. Grimes, gentleman of the horse to the marquis, should pass in a disguised and private manner through France to Madrid; these five passing, though not without some difficulty, from Dover to Boulogne, where taking post horses they came to Paris, and lodged at an inn in Rue St. Jacques, where it was advised amongst them whether they should send for me to attend them. After some dispute it was concluded in the negative, since, as one there objected, if I came alone in the quality

of a private person, I must go on foot through the streets, and because I was a person generally known, might be followed by some one or other, who would discover whither my private visit tended, besides that those in the inn must needs take notice of my coming in that manner; on the other side, if I came publicly with my usual train, the gentlemen with me must needs take notice of the prince and Marquis of Buckingham, and consequently might divulge it, which was thought not to stand with the prince's safety, who endeavored to keep his journey as secret as possible; howbeit, the prince spent the day following his arrival in seeing the French court and city of Paris, without that anybody did know his person, but a maid that had sold linen heretofore in London, who, seeing him pass by, said, "Certainly this is the Prince of Wales," but withal suffered him to hold his way, and presumed not to follow him. The next day after they took post horses and held their way towards Bayonne, a city frontier to Spain.

The first notice that came to me was by one Andrews, a Scotchman, who, coming late the night preceding their departure, demanded whether I had seen the prince. When I demanded what prince, "for," said I, "the Prince of Condé is yet in Italy," he told me the Prince of Wales, which yet I could not believe easily, until with many oaths he affirmed the prince was in France, and that he had charge to follow his highness, desiring me in the mean while, on the part of the king my master, to serve his passage the best I could. This made me rise very early the next morning, and go to Monsieur Puisieux, principal secretary of state, to demand present audience. Puisieux hereupon entreated me to stay an hour, since he was in bed,

and had some earnest business to despatch for the king his master as soon as he was ready. I returned answer that I could not stay a minute, and that I desired I might come to his bedside: this made Puisieux rise and put on his gown only, and so came to the chamber, where I attended him. His first words to me were, "I know your business as well as you; your prince is departed this morning post to Spain"; adding further, that I could demand nothing for the security of his passage but it should be presently granted, concluding with these very words, "Vous serez servi au point nomme," or, "You shall be served in any particular you can name." I told him that his free offer had prevented the request I intended to make, and that, because he was so principal a minister of state, I doubted not but what he had so nobly promised he would see punctually performed; as for the security of his passage, that I did not see what I could demand more than that he would suffer him quietly to hold his way, without sending after or interrupting him. He replied that the prince should not be interrupted, though yet he could do no less than send to know what success the prince had in his journey. I was no sooner returned out of his chamber but I despatched a letter by post to the prince, to desire him to make all the haste he could out of France, and not to treat with any of the religion in the way, since his being at Paris was known, and that though the French secretary had promised he should not be interrupted, yet that they would send after his highness, and when he gave any occasion of suspicion might perchance detain him. The prince, after some examination at Bayonne (which the governor thereof did afterwards particularly relate to me, confessing that he did not know who the prince was), held his way on

to Madrid, where he and all his company safely arrived. Many of the nobility and others of the English court, being now desirous to see the prince, did pass through France to Spain, taking my house still in their way, by whom I acquainted his highness in Spain how much it grieved me that I had not seen his highness when he was in Paris ; which occasioned his highness afterwards to write a letter to me, wholly with his own hand, and subscribe his name, "Your friend Charles," in which he did abundantly satisfy all the unkindness I might conceive on this occasion.

I shall not enter into a narration of the passages occurring in the Spanish court, upon his highness's arrival thither, though they were well known to me for the most part, by the information the French queen was pleased to give me, who, among other things, told me that her sister did wish well unto the prince. I had from her also intelligence of certain messages sent from Spain to the pope, and the pope's messages to them ; whereof, by her permission, I did afterwards inform his highness. Many judgments were now made concerning the event which this treaty of marriage was likely to have ; the Duke of Savoy said that the prince's journey thither was "un tiro di quelli cavalieri antichi che andavano così per il mondo a disfare li incanti," — that it was "a trick of those ancient knight errants, who went up and down the world after that manner to undo enchantments" ; for, as that duke did believe that the Spaniard did intend finally to bestow her on the imperial house, he conceived that he did only entertain the treaty with England, because he might avert the king my master from treating in any other place, and particularly in France ; howbeit, by the intelligence I received in Paris, which I am confident was very good,

I am assured the Spaniard meant really at that time, though how the match was broken, I list not here to relate, it being a more perplexed and secret business than I am willing to insert into the narration of my life.

New propositions being now made, and other counsels thereupon given, the prince, taking his leave of the Spanish court, came to St. Andrew's in Spain, where, shipping himself with his train, arrived safely at Portsmouth about the beginning of October, 1623; the news whereof being shortly brought into France, the Duke of Guise came to me, and said he found the Spaniards were not so able men as he thought, since they had neither married the prince in their country, nor done anything to break his match elsewhere. I answered that the prince was more dexterous than that any secret practice of theirs could be put upon him; and as for violence, I thought the Spaniard durst not offer it.

The war against those of the religion continuing in France, Père Segnerand, confessor to the king, made a sermon before his majesty upon the text, "That we should forgive our enemies"; upon which argument, having said many good things, he at last distinguished forgiveness, and said we were indeed to forgive our enemies, but not the enemies of God, such as were heretics, and particularly those of the religion; and that his majesty, as the most Christian king, ought to extirpate them wheresoever they could be found. This particular being related to me, I thought fit to go to the queen mother without farther ceremony, for she gave me leave to come to her chamber whensoever I would, without demanding audience, and to tell her that though I did not usually intermeddle with matters handled within their pulpits, yet because Père Segne-

rand, who had the charge of the king's conscience, had spoken so violently against those of the religion that his doctrine was not limited only to France, but might extend itself in its consequences beyond the seas, even to the dominions of the king my master, I could not but think it very unreasonable, and the rather, that, as her majesty well knew, a treaty of marriage betwixt our prince and the princess her daughter was now begun, for which reason I could do no less than humbly desire that such doctrines as these henceforth might be silenced, by some discreet admonition she might be pleased to give to Père Segnerand, or others that might speak to this purpose. The queen, though she seemed very willingly to hear me, yet handled the business so that Père Segnerand was together informed who had made this complaint against him, whereupon also he was so distempered, that by one Monsieur Gaellac, a Provençal, his own countryman, he sent me this message, that he knew well who had accused him to her majesty, and that he was sensible thereof; that he wished me to be assured that wheresoever I was in the world, he would hinder my fortune. The answer I returned by Monsieur Gaellac was, that nothing in all France but a friar or a woman durst have sent me such a message.

Shortly after this, coming again to the queen mother, I told her that what I said concerning Père Segnerand was spoken with a good intention, and that my words were now discovered to him in that manner that he sent me a very affronting message, adding after a merry fashion these words, that I thought Segnerand so malicious that his malice was beyond the malice of women. The queen, being a little started hereat, said, "*À moi femme et parler ainsi ?*"—"To me a woman and say so ?"

I replied gently, "*Je parle à votre majesté comme reine et non pas comme femme,*" — "I speak to your majesty as a queen and not as a woman," and so took my leave of her. What Père Segnerand did afterwards, in way of performing his threat, I know not; but sure I am that, had I been ambitious of worldly greatness, I might have often remembered his words; though, as I ever loved my book and a private life more than any busy preferments, I did frustrate and render vain his greatest power to hurt me.

My book "*De Veritate prout distinguitur a Revelatione verisimili, possibili, et a falso,*" having been begun by me in England, and formed there in all its principal parts, was about this time finished; all the spare hours which I could get from my visits and negotiations being employed to perfect this work, which was no sooner done but that I communicated it to Hugo Grotius, that great scholar, who, having escaped his prison in the Low Countries, came into France, and was much welcomed by me and Monsieur Tieleners* also, one of the greatest scholars of his time, who, after they had perused it, and given it more commendations than is fit for me to repeat, exhorted me earnestly to print and publish it; howbeit, as the frame of my whole book was so different from anything which had been written heretofore, I found I must either renounce the authority of all that had written for-

* In the little book of Lord Herbert's verses, published after his death, is a copy addressed "*To Tilenus after the fatal defluxion upon my arm.*" Daniel Tilenus was a theologic writer of that time. He wrote about Antichrist and animadversions on the Synod of Dort; some of his works were published at Paris. He was, however, a Silesian, and his true name might be Tieleners, Latinized into Tilenus, according to the pedantry of that time; as Groot was called Grotius, the similitude of whose studies might well connect him with Tieleners.

merly, concerning the method of finding out truth, and consequently insist upon my own way, or hazard myself to a general censure, concerning the whole argument of my book; I must confess it did not a little animate me that the two great persons above mentioned did so highly value it, yet as I knew it would meet with much opposition, I did consider whether it was not better for me for a while to suppress it. Being thus doubtful in my chamber, one fair day in the summer, my casement being opened towards the south, the sun shining clear and no wind stirring, I took my book "De Veritate" in my hand, and kneeling on my knees devoutly said these words:—

"O thou eternal God, author of the light which now shines upon me, and giver of all inward illuminations, I do beseech thee of thy infinite goodness to pardon a greater request than a sinner ought to make: I am not satisfied enough whether I shall publish this book 'De Veritate'; if it be for thy glory, I beseech thee give me some sign from heaven; if not, I shall suppress it."

I had no sooner spoken these words, but a loud though yet gentle noise came from the heavens, for it was like nothing on earth, which did so comfort and cheer me that I took my petition as granted, and that I had the sign I demanded, whereupon also I resolved to print my book. This, how strange soever it may seem, I protest before the eternal God is true, neither am I any way superstitiously deceived herein, since I did not only clearly hear the noise, but in the serenest sky that ever I saw, being without all cloud, did to my thinking see the place from whence it came.

And now I sent my book to be printed in Paris, at my own cost and charges, without suffering it to be

divulged to others than to such as I thought might be worthy readers of it ; though afterwards reprinting it in England, I not only dispersed it among the prime scholars of Europe, but was sent to, not only from the nearest, but farthest parts of Christendom, to desire the sight of my book, for which they promised anything I should desire by way of return, but hereof more amply in its place.

The treaty of a match with France continuing still, it was thought fit for the concluding thereof that the Earl of Carlisle and the Earl of Holland should be sent extraordinary ambassadors to France.

N. B. The notes to the foregoing narrative are from the English edition.





LIFE OF THOMAS ELLWOOD.



THOMAS ELLWOOD.

THE author of the following autobiography has the doubtful glory of having suggested one of the most unread epics in the English language. He was some time a student of Latin with John Milton, "a gentleman of great note for learning, throughout the learned world, for the accurate pieces he has written on various subjects and occasions," of whose wise and subtle manner of teaching the language his student gives a curious account. Several years after the stormy events of the young Quaker's life had parted him from this learned gentleman, they were again brought into each other's neighborhood, when Master Milton gave Ellwood, to read, a manuscript of his, — a certain poem which he had called "Paradise Lost."

"After I had, with the best attention, read it through, I made him another visit, and returned him his book, with due acknowledgment of the favor he had done me in communicating it to me. He asked me how I liked it, and what I thought of it, which I modestly but freely told him; and after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, 'Thou hast said

much here of *Paradise Lost*, but what hast thou to say of *Paradise Found*?' He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse; then brake off that discourse, and fell upon another subject. After the sickness was over, and the city well cleansed, and become safely habitable again, he returned thither. And when afterwards I went to wait on him there, which I seldom failed of doing whenever my occasions drew me to London, he showed me his second poem, called 'Paradise Regained,' and in a pleasant tone said to me, 'This is owing to you, for you put it into my head by the question you put to me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of.'

Those who bear honest Ellwood a grudge for the disservice he thus did literature and a great poet, will do well to read his sketch of his own life, which they will find full of such entertaining matter, such right feeling, and such good sense, that they cannot help forgiving him. The writings of his sect are apt to have a certain unintentional delight for the world's people; Charles Lamb held John Woolman's *Journal* to be one of the most humorous books in our tongue, and Sewall's "*History of the People called Quakers*" is far from being the serious work it appears, especially in its grave recital of the exploits and sufferings of early Quakers who broke pitchers and tore caps in pieces before magistrates as a sign of what fate awaited misrule, or who symbolized in their persons the spiritual nakedness of Christendom for a testimony against it; nor is the "*Life of Thomas Ellwood*" an exception to the general rule. There is something inevitably amusing in many features of the martyrdom which he began to undergo at the hands of the sturdy Puritan magistrate, his father, when he put off

laces, ribbons, and useless buttons from his garments, and corresponding fripperies from his speech and manner, and became a declared and zealous Quaker. The story of "whirrets" upon the ear for his use of the plain language, and of hats snatched from his head, thrown away and utterly lost in his efforts to remain covered in his father's presence, is one which it were hard to read with a grave face; and surely that account of the father's pausing from family prayer to fall in controversy upon the Quaker son with fist and cane, belongs, however deplorable as an instance of human infirmity of temper, rather to the comic than the tragic side of the tale of religious persecutions. But let no one imagine a prevailing absurdity in Thomas Ellwood's life; he was a man whom every reader must heartily respect and honor. He was incorruptibly true and unimpeachably brave, and he suffered for his faith outrage and injustice with saintly patience and manly strength. Again and again he was seized and cast into prison without cause; every ruffian and coward felt free to insult the gallant youth who had once been so quick with his sword. If the reader will know how, without striking a blow, a man of courage may make knightly defence of a lady, let him turn to Ellwood's modest account of how he protected the beautiful Guli Pennington, afterwards the wife of William Penn, from the rudeness of some drunken troopers; and if he will learn how a true man is always efficiently a man, let him compare the quiet fearlessness of Ellwood in moments of peril with the valor of Lord Herbert, which he will find duly celebrated by his lordship in the first half of this book. The Quaker will suffer nothing by contrast with the cavalier.

It is the great merit of Quakerism that it divined the essential democracy of Christianity in an age when democracy was so unknown in church or state as hardly to have a name, and asserted the equality of all human spirits. The principle which influenced George Fox to refuse *hat-honor* and remain covered in every presence, and to give the plain *thee* and *thou* to each person, no matter of what station, may not have been the revelation he thought it, but it had the living truth in it, and it must yet rule the world. Quakerism had its own follies and excesses, but it swept more nonsense out of the heads and hearts that received it than the rest of the world has yet begun to be rid of, or is like to be for some ages to come. A man put off with his useless buttons all idle and foolish conventions, and recognized himself as the equal of other men; he spoke the simple truth, and he worshipped honest labor by toiling at any trade without a sense of dishonor. Because we are so glib in declaring our belief in the dignity of labor, we fancy ourselves in advance of the Quakers of two hundred and fifty years ago; but the democrats among us who would not think it sorrow and shame to be forced to work for their bread with their hands are far fewer than the sect who discovered Democratic Christianity. Ellwood was by birth a gentleman, yet when he was in prison with many other Quakers, he was glad to learn the art of tailoring from one of his brother sectaries, and he labored diligently at it as long as he remained there; "spending those leisure hours with innocency and pleasure, which want of business would have made tedious." All impulses, good or bad, exhaust themselves, and Quakerism seems now in its last days, *but those who love to believe that men shall some-*

time dwell in peace and unity, through a sense of their essential equality, cannot read the history of that belief without renewed courage. It will be well for them too if they can perceive that democracy only becomes vital when it is a religion as well as a policy.

The name of Ellwood has, aside from all this, some interest for Americans through his connection with the family of the lovely lady whom William Penn married, and with whom Ellwood himself was at one time reputed to be in love. She was the daughter of a brave officer of the Commonwealth, and it was through her example and that of her mother and stepfather that Ellwood was first brought to a belief in Quakerism. He and "Mary Penington's fair daughter Guli" had been children together, and nothing can be prettier than his telling how, after the Peningtons' conversion, and while Ellwood was yet of the world, he found Guli in her garden with her maid gathering flowers, and on attempting "to engage her in some discourse which might introduce conversation on the foot of their former acquaintance, . . . a free, debonair, courtly sort of behavior, . . . young as she was, the gravity of her look and behavior struck such an awe upon him," that though "she treated him with a courteous mien" he fell silent, and asked pardon for his boldness. Their gentle and tender friendship seems only to have had the color of fraternal affection, but they remained much attached as long as she lived, her death happening not long after her husband's release from imprisonment under William and Mary. Mrs. Maria Webb's book, "The Penns and Peningtons of the Seventeenth Century in their Domestic and Religious Life" (London, 1867), presents many interesting notices of this admirable lady, with several of her letters hitherto

unpublished, and the touching story, chiefly in Mrs. Penington's language, of the life and early death of Sir William Springett, Guli's father. The same excellent volume contains certain inedited verses of Ellwood, whose elegiac muse, so prompt to mourn the death of other friends, is strangely mute at that of Guli Penn. He had indeed addressed a poem to her husband in America, and he had embalmed the memory of her father and mother in song which has at least all the preservative qualities of extreme dryness; and it is not impossible that some forgotten acrostic or eclogue or elegy sorrows for her loss.

The Peningtons had great influence in turning Ellwood to Quakerism, but it was Edward Burrough who brought him to a full and final conviction of the truth, and him the reader of this life will find duly lamented in an acrostic, in which a fervent heart and a devout mind, struggling powerfully with a native tunelessness in the poet, cannot justly be said to achieve the victory. It must be owned indeed that the poetry of the worthy Ellwood is of a very tough and unwilling kind, as several pieces given in the course of his narrative will witness: it is poetry which expresses the truth, and is so far to be revered. How to enjoy it is another matter, with which probably the poet, who liked it, did not concern himself.

I have in some cases made free to spare the reader strains which the autobiographer had inserted in his story, but I have thought best to keep back no part of the elegy on Edward Burrough, for whose sake I hope the robust reader will strive with it, for he was a man worthy of remembrance. He early became a preacher of great influence, and suffered much for his zeal, which spared neither high nor low. More than

one letter he wrote to the Protector (whom the good Sewall always styles O. Cromwell), warning him against his own waxing pride and vainglory (he made public protest against the "idolatrous" celebration of Cromwell's funeral), and charging him to put a stop to the persecution of the Quakers. These he followed up with the like appeals to Richard Cromwell, and to Charles II. in his turn. With the last his intercession had the most effect, and it is his glory to have so urged upon the king's attention the cruelties practised against the Quakers in Boston that at Burrough's instance Charles issued his mandamus ordering Governor Endicott to send his prisoners to England, and so ended that persecution. This good and brave man died in Newgate, where he had been thrown for preaching at a Quaker meeting, and where he lay sick (being hurt by a fall the soldiers had given him when they seized him), for eight months before his death.

Burrough was much with the Peningtons, whose house indeed seems to have been the pretty constant refuge and resort of the Quaker preachers. Mrs. Penington was the daughter as well as the widow of a baronet, she was a person of substance as well as quality, and hospitality was her custom and her instinct. In Mrs. Webb's book, the reader will find a most interesting account of the exercises of mind concerning religion through which she at last found peace in Quakerism. Her second husband was a man of like seriousness of soul; he was of a city family, his father, Alderman Penington, having been one of the Regicides treacherously arrested after the Restoration and imprisoned in the Tower, where he died from sickness induced by hardship and privation. Ellwood, being of the same Puritan stock, was probably the more readily

influenced by the example of these admirable people. Their friendship continued intimate through life, and when William Penn married Guli, Ellwood's fraternal affection for her was equally bestowed upon her husband. To him he addressed some of the least unreadable of his verses,—verses indeed in which there is a faint lift and waft of genuine poetry.

TO MY FRIEND IN AMERICA.

I envy not nor grudge the sweet content
I hope thou takest under thy shady tree,
Where many an hour is innocently spent,
From vexing cares, from noise, and tumult free,
Where godly meetings are not riots made,
Nor innocents by stratagems betrayed.

But, for my own part, I expect not yet
Such peaceful days, such quiet time to see;
My station in a troublous world is set,
And daily trials still encompass me;
This is my comfort, that my God is near
To give me courage, and my spirit cheer.

The blustering winds blow hard, the foaming seas
Raise their proud waves, the surging billows swell;
No human art this tempest can appease;
He's only safe who with the Lord doth dwell,
Though storms and violence should yet increase,
In Him there is security and peace.

Ellwood's spiritual song is marked by a stout, unfluent devotion, which now and then bends into a momentary grace; his elegy upon the Excellently Learned John Milton (given from MS. by Mrs. Webb)

is a terrible example of a thoroughly prosaic soul in the unnatural throes of verse. What he himself wrote of a controversial opponent but too aptly characterizes his own achievements in poetry : —

“ So flat, so dull, so rough, so void of grace,
Where *symphony* and *cadence* have no place;
So full of *chasmes*, stuck with *prosie* pegs,
Whereon his *tired* Muse might rest her legs,
(Not having wings,) and take new breath, that then
She might with much adoe hop on again.”

He was the author of “*Davidæis*,” the life of King David of Israel, an epic poem in five books, which he says he wrote not for publication, but for his own “diversion”; it has apparently not survived for that of the present generation, though a fourth edition of it was printed in 1792. He edited George Fox’s Journals, but his chief prose work is the “*Sacred History of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament*, digested into due method with respect to order of time and place, with observations tending to illustrate some passages therein.” This, according to Mrs. Webb, is full of his raciness and mother wit, is very pleasant reading, and reached a fourth edition in 1778. His other prose writings are nearly all on controversial subjects in defence of the doctrines of Friends, and have never been republished. The titles of some of them are characteristic of the age, and will sufficiently indicate their tenor: “*The Foundation of Tythes Shaken*”; “*An Antidote against the Infection of W. Rogers’ Book*”; “*A Seasonable Dissuasive from Persecution*”; “*A Fair Examination of a Foul Paper*”; “*Rogero-Mastix, a Rod for W. R.*”; etc.

Many of Ellwood’s writings have not been printed;

but the fact that twenty-four works of all kinds — poems, pamphlets, and controversial treatises — were published and forgotten must be our comfort and stay in this partial deprivation. His autobiography has alone survived to our time, and it will probably keep his memory alive as long as men love to read simple, sincere, and manly books. Its manner has for me a great charm, and from the clearness with which it mirrors the author and the profound religious movement in which he was so largely concerned, it must always be interesting to the student of history; whoever loves a quaint force of style, and many delicate unconscious flavors of character, or values rare pictures of the intimate life of the past, must also enjoy it. No one will like it the less for the harmless vanity which occasionally appears in it. Ellwood came hardly by his religion and his learning, and so much as any man might, had a right to self-satisfaction in them.

He lived thirty years after the period at which his memoir ends, and he meant to have enlarged it with an account of his literary life and labors, but he died at last in 1713, without having found time for this work. His declining years were spent in retirement at Hunger Hill, near Amerdean, Buckinghamshire. He lies buried with his wife, in the little graveyard of New Jordans, where the dust of the Penns and Peningtons reposes, — dear friends from whom death has not parted him.

In the Society of Friends he had the station of an elder, while his wife was minister. It was not till after her death, four years before his own, that he began to write the following story of his good and brave career, busying himself also with his religious works as long as he was able. He had an asthmatic com-

plaint, but his last sickness was paralysis. All reports agree concerning the charity and daily beauty of his life. Joseph Wyeth, the Friend who edited his memoirs, tells us that he was "a man of comely aspect, of a free and generous disposition, of a courteous and affable temper, and pleasant conversation"; and another testimony, of one who knew him well, declares that "he was greatly respected by his neighbors, for his services amongst them; his heart and doors were open to the poor; both sick and lame who wanted help had it freely; often saying 'he mattered not what cost he was at to do good.'"



1



THE LIFE
OF
THOMAS ELLWOOD.

ALTHOUGH my station, from not being so eminent either in the church of Christ or in the world, as that of others who have moved in higher orbs, may not afford such considerable remarks as theirs; yet, inasmuch as in the course of my travels through this vale of tears, I have passed through various, and some uncommon exercises, which the Lord hath been graciously pleased to support me under, and conduct me through, I hold it a matter excusable at least, if not commendable, to give the world some little account of my life, that, in recounting the many deliverances and preservations, which the Lord hath vouchsafed to work for me, both I, by a grateful acknowledgment thereof, and return thanksgivings unto Him therefore, may in some measure set forth his abundant goodness to me; and others, whose lot it may be to tread the same path, and fall into the same or like exercises, may be encouraged to persevere in the way of holiness, and, with full assur-

ance of mind, to trust in the Lord, whatsoever trials may befall them.

To begin therefore with mine own beginning, I was born in the year of our Lord 1639, about the beginning of the eighth month, so far as I have been able to inform myself; for the parish register, which relates to the time, not of birth, but of baptism, as they call it, is not to be relied on.

The place of my birth was a little country town called Crowell, situated in the upper side of Oxfordshire, three miles eastward from Thame, the nearest market town. My father's name was Walter Ellwood, and my mother's maiden name was Elizabeth Potman; they were both well descended, but of declining families. So that what my father possessed, which was a pretty estate in lands, and more as I have heard in moneys, he received, as he had done his name Walter, from his grandfather Walter Gray, whose daughter and only child was his mother.

In my very infancy, when I was but about two years old, I was carried to London. For the civil war between the king and parliament then breaking forth, my father, who favored the parliament side, though he took not arms, not holding himself safe at his country habitation, which lay too near some garrisons of the king's, betook himself to London, that city then holding for the parliament. There was I bred up, though not without much difficulty, the city air not agreeing with my tender constitution; and there I continued until Oxford was surrendered, and the war in appearance ended.

In this time my parents contracted an acquaintance and intimate friendship with the Lady Springett, then *the widow* of Sir William Springett, who died in the

parliament service, and afterwards the wife of Isaac Penington, eldest son of Alderman Penington of London. And this friendship devolving from the parents to the children, I became an early and particular play-fellow to her daughter Gulielma; being admitted as such to ride with her in her little coach, drawn by her footmen about Lincoln's Inn Fields. I mention this in this place, because the continuation of that acquaintance and friendship having been an occasional means of my being afterwards brought to the knowledge of the blessed Truth, I shall have frequent cause, in the course of the following discourse, to make honorable mention of that family, to which I am under so many and great obligations.

Soon after the surrender of Oxford, my father returned to his estate at Crowell; which by that time he might have need to look after, having spent, I suppose, the greatest part of the moneys which had been left him by his grandfather, in maintaining himself and his family at a high rate in London.

My elder brother (for I had one brother and two sisters, all elder than myself) was, while we lived in London, boarded at a private school, in the house of one Francis Atkinson, at a place called Hadley, near Barnet, in Hertfordshire, where he had made some good proficiency in the Latin and French tongues. But after we had left the city, and were resettled in the country, he was taken from that private school, and sent to the free school at Thame, in Oxfordshire. Thither also was I sent, as soon as my tender age would permit; for I was indeed but young when I went, and yet seemed younger than I was, by reason of my low and little stature. For it was held, for some years, a doubtful point whether I should not have

proved a dwarf; but after I was arrived to the fifteenth year of my age, or thereabouts, I began to shoot up, and gave not up growing till I had attained the middle size and stature of men.

At this school, which at that time was in good reputation, I profited apace, having then a natural propensity to learning; so that at the first reading over of my lesson, I commonly made myself master of it: and yet, which is strange to think of, few boys in the school wore out more birch than I. For though I was never, that I remember, whipped upon the score of not having my lesson ready, or of not saying it well, yet being a little busy boy, full of spirit, of a working head and active hand, I could not easily conform myself to the grave and sober rules, and, as I then thought severe orders of the school; but was often playing one waggish prank or other among my school-fellows, which subjected me to correction, so that I have come under the discipline of the rod twice in a forenoon; which yet brake no bones.

Had I been continued at this school, and in due time preferred to a higher, I might in likelihood have been a scholar; for I was observed to have a genius apt to learn. But my father having, so soon as the republican government began to settle, accepted the office of a justice of the peace (which was no way beneficial, but merely honorary, and every way expensive), and put himself into a port and course of living agreeable thereunto; and having also removed my brother from Thame School to Merton College in Oxford, and entered him there in the highest and most chargeable condition of a fellow-commoner, he found it needful to *retrench his expenses elsewhere*, the hurt of which fell *upon me*. For he thereupon took me from school, to

save the charge of maintaining me there; which was somewhat like plucking green fruit from the tree, and laying it by before it was come to its due ripeness, which will thenceforth shrink and wither, and lose that little juice and relish which it began to have.

Even so it fared with me: for being taken home when I was but young, and before I was well settled in my studies (though I had made a good progress in the Latin tongue, and was entered on the Greek,) being left too much to myself, to ply or play with my books or without them, as I pleased, I soon shook hands with my books, by shaking my books out of my hands, and laying them, by degrees, quite aside; and addicted myself to such youthful sports and pleasures as the place afforded, and my condition could reach unto. By this means, in a little time, I began to lose that little learning I had acquired at school; and, by a continued disuse of my books, became at length so utterly a stranger to learning, that I could not have read, far less have understood, a sentence in Latin; which I was so sensible of, that I warily avoided reading to others, even in an English book, lest, if I should meet with a Latin word, I should shame myself by mispronouncing it.

Thus I went on, taking my swing in such vain courses as were accounted harmless recreations, entertaining my companions and familiar acquaintance with pleasant discourses in our conversations, by the mere force of mother-wit and natural parts without the help of school cultivation; and was accounted good company too.

But I always sorted myself with persons of ingenuity, temperance, and sobriety; for I loathed scurrilities in conversation, and had a natural aversion to

immoderate drinking. So that, in the time of my greatest vanity, I was preserved from profaneness, and the grosser evils of the world; which rendered me acceptable to persons of the best note in that country then. I often waited on the Lord Wenman, at his house, Thame Park, about two miles from Crowell, where I lived; to whose favor I held myself entitled in a twofold respect, both as my mother was nearly related to his lady, and as he had been pleased to bestow his name upon me, when he made large promises for me at the font. He was a person of great honor and virtue, and always gave me a kind reception at his table, how often soever I came. And I have cause to think I should have received from this lord some advantageous preferment in this world, as soon as he had found me capable of it (though betwixt him and my father there was not then so good an understanding as might have been wished), had I not been in a little time after called into the service of the best and highest Lord; and thereby lost the favor of all my friends, relations, and acquaintance of this world. To the account of which most happy exchange I hasten, and therefore willingly pass over many particulars of my youthful life. Yet one passage I am willing to mention, for the effect it had upon me afterwards, which was thus:—

My father being then in the commission of the peace, and going to a petty sessions at Watlington, I waited on him thither. And when we came near the town, the coachman, seeing a nearer and easier way than the common road, through a cornfield, and that it was *wide enough* for the wheels to run without damaging the corn, turned down there; which being observed by a husbandman who was at plough not far off, he

ran to us, and, stopping the coach, poured forth a mouthful of complaints, in none of the best language, for driving over the corn. My father mildly answered him, that if there was an offence committed, he must rather impute it to his servant than himself, since he neither directed him to drive that way nor knew which way he drove; yet added that he was going to such an inn at the town, whither if he came he would make him full satisfaction for whatsoever damage he had sustained thereby. And so on we went, the man venting his discontent, as he went back, in angry accents. At the town, upon inquiry, we understood that it was a way often used, and without damage, being broad enough, but that it was not the common road, which yet lay not far from it, and was also good enough; wherefore my father bid his man drive home that way.

It was late in the evening when we returned, and very dark; and this quarrelsome man, who had troubled himself and us in the morning, having gotten another lusty fellow like himself to assist him, waylaid us in the night, expecting we should return the same way we came; but when they found we did not, but took the common way, they, angry that they were disappointed, and loath to lose their purpose (which was to put an abuse upon us), coasted over to us in the dark, and laying hold on the horses' bridles, stopped them from going on. My father, asking his man what the reason was that he went not on, was answered, that there were two men at the horses' heads, who held them back, and would not suffer them to go forward. Whereupon my father, opening the *boot, stepped out*, and I followed close at his heels. *Going up to the place where the men stood, he de-*

manded of them the reason of this assault. They said we were upon the corn. We knew by the ruts we were not on the corn, but in the common way, and told them so; but they told us they were resolved they would not let us go on any farther, but would make us go back again. My father endeavored by gentle reasoning to persuade them to forbear, and not run themselves farther into the danger of the law, which they were run too far already: but they rather derided him for it. Seeing, therefore, fair means would not work upon them, he spoke more roughly to them, charging them to deliver their clubs (for each of them had a great club in his hand, somewhat like those which are called quarter-staves); they thereupon, laughing, told him they did not bring them thither for that end. Thereupon my father, turning his head to me, said, "Tom, disarm them."

I stood ready at his elbow, waiting only for the word of command; for being naturally of a bold spirit, full then of youthful heat, and that too heightened by the sense I had, not only of the abuse, but insolent behavior of those rude fellows, my blood began to boil, and my fingers itched, as the saying is, to be dealing with them. Wherefore, stepping boldly forward to lay hold on the staff of him that was nearest to me, I said, "Sirrah, deliver your weapon." He thereupon raised his club, which was big enough to have knocked down an ox, intending, no doubt, to knock me down with it, as probably he would have done, had I not, in the twinkling of an eye, whipped out my rapier, and made a pass upon him. I could not have failed running him through up to the hilt, had he stood his ground, but the sudden and unexpected sight of my bright blade, *glistering* in the dark night, did so amaze and terrify the

man, that, slipping aside, he avoided my thrust; and, letting his staff sink, betook himself to his heels for safety, which his companion, seeing, fled also. I followed the former as fast as I could, but *timor addidit alas* (fear gave him wings), and made him swiftly fly; so that, although I was accounted very nimble, yet the farther we ran the more ground he gained on me, so that I could not overtake him, which made me think he took shelter under some bush, which he knew where to find, though I did not. Meanwhile the coachman, who had sufficiently the outside of a man, excused himself from intermeddling, under pretence that he durst not leave his horses, and so left me to shift for myself; and I was gone so far beyond my knowledge that I understood not which way I was to go, till by hallooing, and being hallooed to again, I was directed where to find my company.

We had easy means to find out who these men were, the principal of them having been in the daytime at the inn, and both quarrelled with the coachman, and threatened to be even with him when he went back; but since they came off no better in their attempt, my father thought it better not to know them, than to oblige himself to a prosecution of them.

At that time, and for a good while after, I had no regret upon my mind for what I had done and had designed to do in this case; but went on in a sort of bravery, resolving to kill, if I could, any man that should make the like attempt, or put any affront upon us; and for that reason seldom went afterwards upon those public services without a loaded pistol in my pocket. But when it pleased the Lord, in his infinite goodness, to call me out of the spirit and ways of the world, and give me the knowledge of his saving

Truth, whereby the actions of my fore-past life were set in order before me, a sort of horror seized on me, when I considered how near I had been to the staining of my hands with human blood. And whensoever afterwards I went that way, and indeed as often since as the matter has come into my remembrance, my soul has blessed the Lord for my deliverance; and thanksgivings and praises have arisen in my heart (as now, at the relating of it, they do) to Him who preserved and withheld me from shedding man's blood. Which is the reason for which I have given this account of that action, that others may be warned by it.

About this time my dear and honored mother, who was indeed a woman of singular worth and virtue, departed this life, having a little before heard of the death of her eldest son, who, falling under the displeasure of my father, for refusing to resign his interest in an estate which my father sold, and thereupon desiring that he might have leave to travel, in hopes that time and absence might work a reconciliation, went into Ireland with a person powerful there in those times, by whose means he was quickly preferred to a place of trust and profit, but lived not long to enjoy it.

I mentioned before, that during my father's abode in London, in the time of the civil wars, he contracted a friendship with the Lady Springett, then a widow, and afterwards married to Isaac Penington, Esq., to continue which, he sometimes visited them at their country lodgings, as at Datchet, and at Causham Lodge, near Reading. And having heard that they were come to live upon their own estate, at Chalfont, in Buckinghamshire, about fifteen miles from Crowell, he went one day to visit them there, and to return at night, *taking me with him.*

But very much surprised we were, when, being come thither, we first heard, then found, they were become Quakers ; a people we had no knowledge of, and a name we had, till then, scarcely heard of. So great a change, from a free, debonair, and courtly sort of behavior, which we formerly had found them in, to so strict a gravity as they now received us with, did not a little amuse and disappoint our expectation of such a pleasant visit as we used to have, and had now promised ourselves. Nor could my father have any opportunity, by a private conference with them, to understand the ground or occasion of this change, there being some other strangers with them, related to Isaac Penington, who came that morning from London to visit them also.

For my part, I sought, and at length found means, to cast myself into the company of the daughter, whom I found gathering some flowers in the garden, attended by her maid, who was also a Quaker. But when I addressed myself to her, after my accustomed manner, with intention to engage her in some discourse, which might introduce conversation on the foot of our former acquaintance, though she treated me with a courteous mien, yet, as young as she was, the gravity of her look and behavior struck such an awe upon me, that I found myself not so much master of myself as to pursue any farther converse with her. Wherefore, asking pardon for my boldness in having intruded myself into her private walks, I withdrew, not without some disorder (as I thought at least) of mind.

We stayed dinner, which was very handsome, and lacked nothing to recommend it to me but the want of mirth and pleasant discourse, which we could neither have with them, nor, by reason of them, with one

another amongst ourselves; the weightiness that was upon their spirits and countenances keeping down the lightness that would have been up in us. We stayed, notwithstanding, till the rest of the company had taken leave of them, and then we also, doing the same, returned, not greatly satisfied with our journey, nor knowing what in particular to find fault with.

Yet this good effect that visit had upon my father, who was then in the commission for the peace, that it disposed him to a more favorable opinion of and carriage towards those people when they came in his way, as not long after one of them did. For a young man who lived in Buckinghamshire, came on a first day to the church (so called) at a town called Chinner, a mile from Crowell, having, it seems, a pressure on his mind to say something to the minister of that parish. His being an acquaintance of mine drew me sometimes to hear him, as it did then. The young man stood in the aisle before the pulpit all the time of the sermon, not speaking a word till the sermon, and prayer after it, were ended, and then spake a few words to the priest, of which all that I could hear was, that "the prayer of the wicked is abomination to the Lord," and that "God heareth not sinners." Somewhat more, I think, he did say, which I could not distinctly hear for the noise the people made; and more, probably, he would have said, had he not been interrupted by the officers, who took him into custody, and led him out in order to carry him before my father.

When I understood that, I hastened home, that I might give my father a good account of the matter before they came. I told him the young man behaved

himself quietly and peaceably; spake not a word till the minister had quite done his service, and that what he then spake was but short, and was delivered without passion or ill language. This I knew would furnish my father with a fair ground whereon to discharge the man, if he would. And accordingly, when they came, and made a high complaint against the man, who said little for himself, my father having examined the officers who brought him, what the words that he spake were (which they did not well agree in), and at what time he spake them (which they all agreed to be after the minister had done), and then, whether he gave the minister any reviling language, or endeavored to raise a tumult among the people (which they could not charge him with); not finding that he had broken the law, he counselled the young man to be careful that he did not make or occasion any public disturbances, and so dismissed him, which I was glad of.

Some time after this, my father having gotten some further account of the people called Quakers, and being desirous to be informed concerning their principles, made another visit to Isaac Penington and his wife, at their house called the Grange, in Peter's Chalfont, and took both my sisters and me with him. It was in the tenth month, in the year 1659, that we went thither, where we found a very kind reception, and tarried some days; one day at least the longer, because, while we were there, a meeting was appointed at a place about a mile from thence, to which we were invited to go, and willingly went. It was held in a farmhouse called the Grove, which, having formerly been a gentleman's seat, had a very large hall; and that was well filled.

To this meeting came Edward Burrough, besides other preachers, as Thomas Curtis and James Naylor,

but none spake there at that time but Edward Burrough. Next to whom, as it were under him, it was my lot to sit on a stool by the side of a long table on which he sat, and I drank in his words with desire ; for they not only answered my understanding, but warmed my heart with a certain heat, which I had not till then felt from the ministry of any man.

When the meeting was ended, our friends took us home with them again ; and after supper, the evenings being long, the servants of the family, who were Quakers, were called in, and we all sat down in silence. But long we had not so sat, before Edward Burrough began to speak among us ; and although he spake not long, yet what he said did touch, as I suppose, my father's (religious) copyhold, as the phrase is. And he having been from his youth a professor, though not joined in what is called close communion with any one sort, and valuing himself upon the knowledge he esteemed himself to have, in the various notions of each profession, though he had now a fair opportunity to display his knowledge, and thereupon began to make objections against what had been delivered.

The subject of the discourse was, "The universal free grace of God to all mankind." To this he opposed the Calvinistical tenet of particular and personal predestination : in defence of which indefensible notion he found himself more at a loss than he expected. Edward Burrough said not much to him upon it, though what he said was close and cogent. But James Naylor, interposing, handled the subject with so much perspicuity and clear demonstration that his reasoning seemed to be irresistible ; and so I suppose my father found it, which made him willing to drop the discourse.

As for Edward Burrough, he was a brisk young man of a ready tongue, and might have been, for aught I then knew, a scholar, which made me the less to admire his way of reasoning. But what dropped from James Naylor had the greater force upon me, because he looked but like a plain, simple countryman, having the appearance of a husbandman or a shepherd. As my father was not able to maintain the argument on his side, so neither did they seem willing to drive it on to an extremity on their side. But, treating him in a soft and gentle manner, did, after a while, let fall the discourse; and then we withdrew to our respective chambers.

The next morning we prepared to return home (that is, my father, my younger sister, and myself; for my elder sister was gone before by the stage-coach to London); and when, having taken leave of our friends, we went forth, they, with Edward Burrough, accompanying us to the gate, he there directed his speech in a few words to each of us severally, according to the sense he had of our several conditions. And when we were gone off, and they gone in again, they asking him what he had thought of us, he answered them, as they afterwards told me, to this effect: "As for the old man, he is settled on his lees, and the young woman is light and airy; but the young man is reached, and may do well if he does not lose it." And surely that which he said to me, or rather that spirit in which he spake it, took such fast hold on me, that I felt sadness and trouble come over me, though I did not distinctly understand what I was troubled for. I knew not what I ailed, but I know I ailed something more than ordinary; and my heart was very heavy. I found it was not so with my father and sister; for, as I rode

after the coach, I could hear them talk pleasantly one to the other; but they could not discern how it was with me, because I, riding on horseback, kept much out of sight.

By the time we got home it was night. And the next day, being the first day of the week, I went in the afternoon to hear the minister of Chinner; and this was the last time I ever went to hear any of that function. After the sermon I went with him to his house; and in a freedom of discourse which, from a certain intimacy that was between us, I commonly used with him, told him where I had been, what company I had met with there, and what observations I had made to myself thereupon. He seemed to understand as little of them as I had done before, and civilly abstained from casting any unhandsome reflections on them.

I had a desire to go to another meeting of the Quakers; and bid my father's man inquire if there was any in the country thereabouts. He thereupon told me he had heard at Isaac Penington's, that there was to be a meeting at High Wycombe on Thursday next. Thither therefore I went, though it was seven miles from me. And that I might be rather thought to go out a coursing than to a meeting, I let my greyhound run by my horse's side.

When I came there, and had set up my horse at an inn, I was at a loss how to find the house where the meeting was to be. I knew it not, and was ashamed to ask after it. Wherefore, having ordered the ostler to take care of my dog, I went into the street, and stood *at the inn gate*, musing with myself what course to *take*. But I had not stood long ere I saw a horseman *riding along* the street, whom I remembered I had

seen before at Isaac Penington's, and he put up his horse at the same inn. Him therefore I resolved to follow, supposing he was going to the meeting, as indeed he was.

Being come to the house, which proved to be John Raunce's, I saw the people sitting together in an outer room ; wherefore I stepped in and sat down on the first void seat, the end of a bench just within the door, having my sword by my side, and black clothes on, which drew some eyes upon me. It was not long ere one stood up and spake, whom I was afterwards well acquainted with ; his name was Samuel Thornton ; and what he spake was very suitable, and of good service to me, for it reached home as if it had been directed to me. As soon as ever the meeting was ended, and the people began to rise, I, being next the door, stepped out quickly, and, hastening to my inn, took horse immediately homewards ; and, so far as I remember, my having been gone was not taken notice of by my father.

This latter meeting was like clinching of a nail, confirming and fastening in my mind those good principles which had sunk into me at the former. My understanding began to open, and I felt some stirrings in my breast, tending to the work of a new creation in me. The general trouble and confusion of mind, which had for some days lain heavy upon me, and pressed me down, without a distinct discovery of the particular cause for which it came, began now to wear off, and some glimmerings of light began to break forth in me, which let me see my inward state and condition towards God. The light, which before had shone in my darkness, and the darkness could not comprehend it, began *now to shine out of darkness, and in some measure*

discovered to me what it was that had before clouded me, and brought that sadness to and trouble upon me. And now I saw that, although I had been, in a great degree, preserved from the common immoralities and gross pollutions of the world, yet the spirit of the world had hitherto ruled in me, and led me into pride, flattery, vanity, and superfluity, all which was naught. I found there were many plants growing in me which were not of the Heavenly Father's planting, and that all these, of whatever sort or kind they were, or how specious soever they might appear, must be plucked up.

Now was all my former life ripped up, and my sins, by degrees, were set in order before me. And though they looked not with so black a hue and so deep a dye as those of the lewdest sort of people did, yet I found that all sin, even that which had the fairest and finest show, as well as that which was more coarse and foul, brought guilt, and with and for guilt, condemnation on the soul that sinned. This I felt, and was greatly bowed down under the sense thereof. Now also did I receive a new law, an inward law superadded to the outward; the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, which wrought in me against all evil, not only in deed and in word, but even in thought also; so that everything was brought to judgment, and judgment passed upon all. So that I could not any longer go on in my former ways and course of life; for when I did, judgment took hold upon me for it.

Thus the Lord was graciously pleased to deal with me, in somewhat like manner as he had dealt with his people Israel of old, when they had transgressed his righteous law; whom by his prophet he called back, required to put away the evil of their doings; *bidding* them first cease to do evil, then learn to do

well; before he would admit them to reason with him, and before he would impart to them the effects of his free mercy. (Isaiah i. 16, 17.)

I was now required by this inward and spiritual law, the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, to put away the evil of my doings, and to cease to do evil. And what, in particulars, the evil was which I was required to put away, and to cease from, that measure of the divine light which was now manifested in me discovered to me; and what the light made manifest to be evil, judgment passed upon.

So that here began to be a way cast up before me for me to walk in, — a direct and plain way; so plain, that a wayfaring man, how weak and simple soever, though a fool to the wisdom and in the judgment of the world, could not err while he continued to walk in it; the error coming in by his going out of it. And this way, with respect to me, I saw was that measure of divine light which was manifested in me, by which the evil of my doings, which I was to put away and to cease from, was discovered to me.

By this divine light then I saw, that though I had not the evil of the common uncleanness, debauchery, profaneness, and pollutions of the world to put away, because I had, through the great goodness of God, and a civil education, been preserved out of those grosser evils; yet I had many other evils to put away, and to cease from; some of which were not by the world (which lies in wickedness, — 1 John v. 19) accounted evils, but by the light of Christ were made manifest to me to be evils, and as such condemned in me.

As, particularly, those fruits and effects of pride that discover themselves in the vanity and superfluity

of apparel; which I, as far as my ability would extend to, took, alas! too much delight in. This evil of my doings I was required to put away and cease from; and judgment lay upon me till I did so. Wherefore, in obedience to the inward law, which agreed with the outward (1 Tim. ii. 9; 1 Pet. iii. 3; 1 Tim. vi. 8; Jam. i. 21), I took off from my apparel those unnecessary trimmings of lace, ribbons, and useless buttons, which had no real service, but were set on only for that which was by mistake called ornament; and I ceased to wear rings.

Again, the giving of flattering titles to men, between whom and me there was not any relation to which such titles could be pretended to belong: this was an evil I had been much addicted to, and was accounted a ready artist in; therefore, this evil also was I required to put away and cease from. So that thenceforward I durst not say, "sir," "master," "my lord," "madam" (or "my dame"), or say, "your servant," to any one to whom I did not stand in the real relation of a servant, which I had never done to any.

Again, respect of persons, in uncovering the head, and bowing the knee or body in salutations, was a practice I had been much in the use of. And this being one of the vain customs of the world, introduced by the spirit of the world, instead of the true honor, which this is a false representation of, and used in deceit, as a token of respect, by persons one to another; who bear no real respect one to another; and, besides, this being a type and proper emblem of that divine honor which all ought to pay to Almighty God, *and which all, of all sorts, who take upon them the Christian name, appear in when they offer their prayers to him, and therefore should not be given to men:*

I found this to be one of those evils which I had been too long doing ; therefore I was now required to put it away, and cease from it.

Again, the corrupt and unsound form of speaking in the plural number to a single person, *you* to one, instead of *thou*; contrary to the pure, plain, and single language of truth, *thou* to one, and *you* to more than one ; which had always been used by God to men, and men to God, as well as one to another, from the oldest record of time, till corrupt men, for corrupt ends, in later and corrupt times, to flatter, fawn, and work upon the corrupt nature in men, brought in that false and senseless way of speaking *you* to one ; which hath since corrupted the modern languages, and hath greatly debased the spirits, and depraved the manners of men : this evil custom I had been as forward in as others, and this I was now called out of, and required to cease from.

These, and many more evil customs, which had sprung up in the night of darkness, and general apostasy from the truth, and true religion, were now, by the inshining of this pure ray of divine light in my conscience, gradually discovered to me to be what I ought to cease from, shun, and stand a witness against.

But so subtly, and withal so powerfully, did the enemy work upon the weak part in me, as to persuade me that in these things I ought to make a difference between my father and all other men ; and that, therefore, though I did disuse these tokens of respect to others, yet I ought still to use them towards him, as he was my father. And so far did this wile of his prevail upon me, through a fear lest I should do amiss in withdrawing any sort of respect or honor from my

father, which was due unto him, that, being thereby beguiled, I continued for a while to bemean myself in the same manner towards him, with respect both to language and gesture, as I had always done before. And as long as I did so, standing bare before him, and giving him the accustomed language, he did not express, whatever he thought, any dislike of me.

But as to myself, and the work begun in me, I found it was not enough for me to cease to do evil ; though that was a good and a great step. I had another lesson before me, which was, to learn to do well ; which I could by no means do, till I had given up, with full purpose of mind, to cease from doing evil. And when I had done that, the enemy took advantage of my weakness to mislead me again.

For, whereas I ought to have waited in the light, for direction and guidance into, and in the way of well-doing, and not to have moved without the divine spirit, a manifestation of which the Lord has been pleased to give unto me, for me to profit with or by, the enemy, transforming himself into the appearance of an angel of light, offered himself in that appearance to be my guide and leader into the performance of religious exercises. And I, not then knowing the wiles of Satan, and being eager to be doing some acceptable service to God, too readily yielded myself to the conduct of my enemy instead of my friend. He thereupon, humoring the warmth and zeal of my spirit, put me upon religious performances in my own will, in my own time, and in my own strength ; which in themselves were good, and would have been profitable unto me, and acceptable unto the Lord, if they had been performed in his will, in his time, and in the ability which he gives. But being wrought in the will of man, and at the

prompting of the evil one, no wonder that it did me hurt instead of good.

I read abundantly in the Bible, and would set myself tasks in reading ; enjoining myself to read so many chapters, sometimes a whole book or long epistle at a time. And I thought that time well spent ; though I was not much the wiser for what I had read, reading it too cursorily, and without the true guide, the Holy Spirit, which alone could open the understanding, and give the true sense of what was read. I prayed often, and drew out my prayers to a great length ; and appointed unto myself certain set times to pray at, and a certain number of prayers to say in a day ; yet knew not, meanwhile, what true prayer was, which stands not in words, though the words which are uttered in the movings of the Holy Spirit are very available ; but in the breathing of the soul to the Heavenly Father, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, who maketh intercession sometimes in words, and sometimes with sighs and groans only, which the Lord vouchsafes to hear and answer.

This will-worship, which all is that is performed in the will of man, and not in the movings of the Holy Spirit, was a great hurt to me, and hindrance of my spiritual growth in the way of truth. But my Heavenly Father, who knew the sincerity of my soul to him, and the hearty desire I had to serve him, had compassion on me ; and in due time was graciously pleased to illuminate my understanding farther, and to open in me an eye to discern the false spirit, and its way of working, from the true ; and to reject the former, and cleave to the latter.

But though the enemy had by his subtilty gained such advantages over me, yet I went on notwithstanding-

ing, and firmly persisted in my godly resolution of ceasing from and denying those things which I was now convinced in my conscience were evil. And on this account a great trial came quickly on me. For the general quarter sessions for the peace coming on, my father, willing to excuse himself from a dirty journey, commanded me to get up betimes, and go to Oxford, and deliver in the recognizances he had taken; and bring him an account what justices were on the bench, and what principal pleas were before them; which he knew I knew how to do, having often attended him on those services.

I, who knew how it stood with me better than he did, felt a weight come over me as soon as he had spoken the word. For I presently saw it would bring a very great exercise upon me. But having never resisted his will in anything that was lawful, as this was, I attempted not to make any excuse, but, ordering a horse to be ready for me early in the morning, I went to bed, having great strugglings in my breast. For the enemy came in upon me like a flood, and set many difficulties before me, swelling them up to the highest pitch, by representing them as mountains which I should never be able to get over; and, alas! that faith which could remove mountains, and cast them into the sea, was but very small and weak in me. He cast into my mind not only how I should behave myself in court, and despatch the business I was sent about, but how I should demean myself towards my acquaintance, of which I had many in that city, with whom I was wont to be jolly; whereas now I could not put off my hat, nor bow to any of them, nor give them their honorary titles, as they are called, nor use the corrupt language *of you* to any one of them, but must keep to the plain and true language of *thou* and *thee*.

Much of this nature revolved in my mind, thrown in by the enemy to discourage and cast me down ; and I had none to have recourse to for counsel or help, but to the Lord alone. To him therefore I poured forth my supplications with earnest cries and breathings of soul, that he, in whom all power was, would enable me to go through this great exercise, and keep me faithful to himself therein. And after some time he was pleased to compose my mind to stillness, and I went to rest.

Early next morning I got up, and found my spirit pretty calm and quiet, yet not without a fear upon me, lest I should slip and let fall the testimony which I had to bear. And as I rode, a frequent cry ran through me to the Lord, on this wise : "O my God, preserve me faithful, whatever befalls me ! Suffer me not to be drawn into evil, how much scorn and contempt soever may be cast upon me !"

Thus was my spirit exercised on the way almost continually. And when I was come within a mile or two of the city, whom should I meet upon the way coming from thence but Edward Burrough ! I rode in a mountier cap (a dress more used then than now), and so did he ; and because the weather was exceeding sharp, we both had drawn our caps down to shelter our faces from the cold ; and by that means neither of us knew the other, but passed by without taking notice one of the other ; till a few days after meeting again, and observing each other's dress, we recollected where we had so lately met. Then thought I with myself, oh ! how glad should I have been of a word of encouragement and counsel from him, when I was under that weighty exercise of mind ! But the Lord saw it was not good for me, that my reliance might be wholly upon *him*, and not on man.

When I had set up my horse, I went directly to the hall where the sessions were held, where I had been but a very little while before a knot of my old acquaintance, espying me, came to me. One of these was a scholar in his gown, another a surgeon of that city, both my school-fellows and fellow-boarders at Thame School, and the third a country gentleman, with whom I had long been very familiar.

When they were come up to me, they all saluted me after the usual manner, putting off their hats, and bowing, and saying, "Your humble servant, sir"; expecting, no doubt, the like from me. But when they saw me stand still, not moving my cap, nor bowing my knee in any way of congé to them, they were amazed, and looked first one upon another, then upon me, and then one upon another again for a while, without a word speaking. At length the surgeon, a brisk young man, who stood nearest to me, clapping his hand in a familiar way upon my shoulder, and smiling on me, said, "What, Tom, a Quaker?" to which I readily and cheerfully answered, "Yes, a Quaker." And as the words passed out of my mouth, I felt joy spring in my heart, for I rejoiced that I had not been drawn out by them into a compliance with them; and that I had strength and boldness given me to confess myself to be one of that despised people.

They stayed not long with me, nor said any more, that I remember, to me; but looking somewhat confusedly one upon another, after a while took their leave of me, going off in the same ceremonious manner as they came on. After they were gone, I walked awhile about the hall, and went up nearer to the court, to observe both what justices were on the bench and what *business* they had before them. And I went in fear,

not of what they could or would have done to me, if they should have taken notice of me, but lest I should be surprised, and drawn unwarily into that which I was to keep out of.

It was not long before the court adjourned to go to dinner, and that time I took to go to the clerk of the peace at his house, whom I was well acquainted with. So soon as I came into the room where he was, he came and met me, and saluted me after his manner; for he had a great respect for my father, and a kind regard for me. And though he was at first somewhat startled at my carriage and language, yet he treated me very civilly, without any reflection or show of lightness. I delivered him the recognizances which my father had sent, and having done the business I came upon, withdrew, and went to my inn to refresh myself, and then to return home. But when I was ready to take horse, looking out into the street, I saw two or three justices standing just in the way where I was to ride. This brought a fresh concern upon me. I knew if they saw me, they would know me; and I concluded, if they knew me, they would stop me to inquire after my father; and I doubted how I should come off with them.

This doubting brought weakness on me, and that weakness led to contrivance how I might avoid this trial. I knew the city pretty well, and remembered there was a back way, which, though somewhat about, would bring me out of town, without passing by those justices; yet loath I was to go that way. Wherefore I stayed a pretty time, in hopes they would have parted company, or removed to some other place out of my way. But when I had waited till I was uneasy for losing so much time, having entered into reasonings

with flesh and blood, the weakness prevailed over me, and away I went the back way, which brought trouble and grief upon my spirits for having shunned the cross.

But the Lord looked on me with a tender eye, and, seeing my heart was right to him, and that what I had done was merely through weakness and fear of falling, and that I was sensible of my failing therein, and sorry for it, he was graciously pleased to pass it by, and speak peace to me again. So that before I got home, as when I went in the morning, my heart was full of breathing prayer to the Lord that he would vouchsafe to be with me and uphold and carry me through that day's exercise ; so now, at my return in the evening, my heart was full of thankful acknowledgments and praises unto him for his great goodness and favor to me, in having thus far preserved and kept me from falling into anything that might have brought dishonor to his holy name, which I had now taken on me.

But, notwithstanding that it was thus with me, and that I found peace and acceptance with the Lord in some good degree, according to my obedience to the convictions I had received by his Holy Spirit in me ; yet was not the veil so done away, or fully rent, but that there still remained a cloud upon my understanding with respect to my carriage towards my father. And that notion which the enemy had brought into my mind, that I ought to put such a difference between him and all others, as that on the account of paternal relation, I should still deport myself towards him, both in gesture and language, as I had always heretofore done, did yet prevail with me. So that when I came home, I went to my father bareheaded, as I used to do, and gave him a particular account of the

business he had given me in command, in such manner that he, observing no alteration in my carriage towards him, found no cause to take offence at me.

I had felt for some time before an earnest desire of mind to go again to Isaac Penington's. And I began to question whether, when my father should come (as I concluded ere long he would) to understand I inclined to settle among the people called Quakers, he would permit me the command of his horses as before. Wherefore, in the morning, when I went to Oxford, I gave direction to a servant of his to go that day to a gentleman of my acquaintance, who I knew had a riding nag to put off, either by sale or to be kept for his work, and desired him, in my name, to send him to me, which he did, and I found him in the stable when I came home.

On this nag I designed to ride next day to Isaac Penington's, and in order thereunto arose betimes and got myself ready for the journey; but because I would pay all due respects to my father, and not go without his consent, or knowledge at the least, I sent one up to him (for he was not yet stirring) to acquaint him that I had a purpose to go to Isaac Penington's, and desired to know if he pleased to command me any service to them. He sent me word he would speak with me before I went, and would have me come up to him, which I did, and stood by his bedside. Then, in a mild and gentle tone, he said, "I understand you have a mind to go to Mr. Penington's." I answered, "I have so." "Why," said he, "I wonder why you should. You were there, you know, but a few days ago; and unless you had business with them, don't you think it will look oddly?" I said, "I thought not." "I doubt," said he, "you'll tire them with your com-

pany, and make them think they shall be troubled with you." "If," replied I, "I find anything of that, I'll make the shorter stay." "But," said he, "can you propose any sort of business with them, more than a mere visit?" "Yes," said I, "I propose to myself not only to see them, but to have some discourse with them." "Why," said he, in a tone a little harsher, "I hope you don't incline to be of their way." "Truly," answered I, "I like them and their way very well, so far as I yet understand it; and I am willing to go to them that I may understand it better."

Thereupon he began to reckon up a bead-roll of faults against the Quakers; telling me they were a rude, unmannerly people, that would not give civil respect or honor to their superiors, no, not to magistrates; that they held many dangerous principles; that they were an immodest, shameless people; and that one of them stripped himself stark naked, and went in that unseemly manner about the streets, at fairs, and on market-days, in great towns. To all the other charges I answered only, that perhaps they might be either misreported or misunderstood, as the best of people had sometimes been. But to the last charge of going naked, a particular answer, by way of instance, was just then brought into my mind, and put into my mouth, which I had not thought of before, and that was, the example of Isaiah, who went naked among the people for a long time (Isaiah xx. 2, 3). "Aye," said my father, "but you must consider that he was a prophet of the Lord, and had an express command from God to do so." "Yes, sir," replied I, "I do consider that; but I consider also, that the Jews, among whom he lived, did not own him for a prophet, nor believe that he had such a command from God. And," added I, "how

know we but that this Quaker may be a prophet too, and might be commanded to do as he did, for some reason which we understand not?"

This put my father to a stand; so that, letting fall his charges against the Quakers, he only said: "I would wish you not to go so soon, but take a little time to consider of it; you may visit Mr. Penington hereafter." "Nay, sir," replied I, "pray don't hinder my going now, for I have so strong a desire to go that I do not well know how to forbear." And as I spake these words, I withdrew gently to the chamber door, and then, hastening down stairs, went immediately to the stable, where, finding my horse ready bridled, I forthwith mounted and went off, lest I should receive a countermand.

This discourse with my father had cast me somewhat back in my journey, and it being fifteen long miles thither, the ways bad, and my nag but small, it was in the afternoon that I got thither. And understanding by the servant that took my horse, that there was then a meeting in the house (as there was weekly on that day, which was the fourth day of the week, though I till then understood it not), I hastened in, and, knowing the rooms, went directly to the little parlor, where I found a few Friends sitting together in silence, and I sat down among them well satisfied, though without words.

When the meeting was ended, and those of the company who were strangers withdrawn, I addressed myself to Isaac Penington and his wife, who received me courteously; but not knowing what exercise I had been in, and yet was under, nor having heard anything of me since I had been there before in another garb, were not forward at first to lay sudden hands on me; which I observed, and did not dislike. But as they came to

see a change in me, not in habit only, but in gesture, speech, and carriage, and which was more, in countenance also (for the exercise I had passed through, and yet was under, had imprinted a visible character of gravity upon my face), they were exceedingly kind and tender towards me.

There was then in the family a Friend, whose name was Anne Curtis, the wife of Thomas Curtis, of Reading, who was come upon a visit to them, and particularly to see Mary Penington's daughter Guli, who had been ill of the small-pox since I had been there before. Betwixt Mary Penington and this Friend I observed some private discourse and whisperings, and I had an apprehension that it was upon something that concerned me. Wherefore I took the freedom to ask Mary Penington if my coming thither had occasioned any inconvenience in the family; she asked me if I had had the small-pox. I told her no. She then told me her daughter had newly had them, and though she was well recovered of them, she had not as yet been down amongst them, but had intended to come down and sit with them in the parlor that evening; yet would rather forbear till another time, than endanger me: and that that was the matter they had been discoursing of. I assured her that I had always been, and then more especially was, free from any apprehension of danger in that respect, and therefore entreated that her daughter might come down. And although they were somewhat unwilling to yield to it, in regard of me, yet my importunity prevailed, and after supper she did come down and sit with us; and though the marks of the distemper were fresh upon her, yet they made no impression upon me, faith keeping out fear.

We spent much of the evening in retiredness of mind, our spirits being weightily gathered inward, so that not much discourse passed among us, neither they to me, nor I to them offered any occasion. Yet I had good satisfaction in that stillness, feeling my spirit drawn near to the Lord and to them therein. Before I went to bed, they let me know that there was to be a meeting at Wycombe next day, and that some of the family would go to it. I was very glad of it, for I greatly desired to go to meetings, and this fell very aptly, it being in my way home. Next morning Isaac Penington himself went, having Anne Curtis with him, and I accompanied them.

At Wycombe we met with Edward Burrough, who came from Oxford thither that day that I, going thither, met him on the way; and having both our mountier-caps on, we recollected that we had met, and passed by each other on the road unknown.

This was a Monthly Meeting, consisting of Friends chiefly, who gathered to it from several parts of the country thereabouts, so that it was pretty large, and was held in a fair room in Jeremiah Stevens's house; the room where I had been at a meeting before in John Raunce's house being too little to receive us. A very good meeting was this in itself and to me. Edward Burrough's ministry came forth among us in life and power, and the assembly was covered therewith. I also, according to my small capacity, had a share therein; for I felt some of that divine power working my spirit into a great tenderness, and not only confirming me in the course I had already entered, and strengthening me to go on therein, but rending the veil also somewhat further, and clearing my understanding in some other things which I had

not seen before. For the Lord was pleased to make his discoveries to me by degrees, that the sight of too great a work, and too many enemies to encounter with at once, might not discourage me and make me faint.

When the meeting was ended, the Friends of the town taking notice that I was the man that had been at their meeting the week before, whom they then did not know, some of them came and spake lovingly to me, and would have had me stay with them: but Edward Burrough going home with Isaac Penington, he invited me to go back with him, which I willingly consented to; for the love I had more particularly to Edward Burrough, through whose ministry I had received the first awakening stroke, drew me to desire his company; and so away we rode together. But I was somewhat disappointed of my expectation, for I hoped he would have given me both opportunity and encouragement to open myself to him, and to pour forth my complaints, fears, doubts, and questions into his bosom. But he, being sensible that I was truly reached, and that the witness of God was raised, and the work of God rightly begun in me, chose to leave me to the guidance of the good spirit in myself, the counsellor that can resolve all doubts, that I might not have any dependence on man. Wherefore, although he was naturally of an open and free temper and carriage, and was afterwards always very familiar and affectionately kind to me, yet, at this time, he kept himself somewhat reserved, and showed only common kindness to me.

Next day we parted, he for London, I home, under a very great weight and exercise upon my spirit. For *I now saw*, in and by the farther openings of the

divine light in me, that the enemy, by his false reasonings, had beguiled and misled me, with respect to my carriage towards my father. For I now clearly saw the honor due to parents did not consist in uncovering the head and bowing the body to them, but in a ready obedience to their lawful commands, and in performing all needful services unto them. Wherefore, as I was greatly troubled for what I already had done in that case, though it was through ignorance, so I plainly felt I could no longer continue therein, without drawing on myself the guilt of wilful disobedience, which I well knew would draw after it Divine displeasure and judgment.

Hereupon the enemy assaulted me afresh, setting before me the danger I should run myself into of provoking my father to use severity towards me, and perhaps to the casting of me utterly off. But over this temptation the Lord, whom I cried unto, supported me, and gave me faith to believe that he would bear me through whatever might befall me on that account. Wherefore I resolved, in the strength which he should give me, to be faithful to his requirings, whatever might come of it.

Thus laboring under various exercises on the way, I at length got home, expecting I should have but a rough reception from my father. But when I came home, I understood my father was from home. Wherefore I sat down by the fire in the kitchen, keeping my mind retired to the Lord, with breathings of spirit to him, that I might be preserved from falling.

After some time I heard the coach drive in, which put me into a little fear, and a sort of shivering came over me. But by that time he was alighted and come in, I had pretty well recovered myself; and as soon

as I saw him I rose up, and advanced a step or two towards him, with my head covered, and said, "Isaac Penington and his wife remember their loves to thee." He made a stop to hear what I said, and observing that I did not stand bare, and that I used the word *thee* to him, he with a stern countenance, and tone that spake high displeasure, only said, "I shall talk with you, sir, another time"; and so, hastening from me, went into the parlor, and I saw him no more that night.

Though I foresaw there was a storm arising, the apprehension of which was uneasy to me, yet the peace which I felt in my own breast raised in me a return of thanksgivings to the Lord for his gracious supporting hand, which had thus far carried me through this exercise; with humble cries in spirit to him, that he would vouchsafe to stand by me in it to the end, and uphold me, that I might not fall.

My spirit longed to be among Friends, and to be at some meeting with them on the first day, which now drew on, this being the sixth-day night. Wherefore I purposed to go to Oxford on the morrow, which was the seventh day of the week, having heard there was a meeting there. Accordingly, having ordered my horse to be ready betimes, I got up in the morning and made myself ready also. Yet before I would go, that I might be as observant to my father as possibly I could, I desired my sister to go up to him in his chamber, and acquaint him that I had a mind to go to Oxford, and desired to know if he pleased to command me any service there. He bid her tell me he would not have me go till he had spoken with me; and, getting up immediately, he hastened down to me before he was quite dressed.

As soon as he saw me standing with my hat on, his passion transporting him, he fell upon me with both his fists; and having by that means somewhat vented his anger, he plucked off my hat and threw it away. Then stepping hastily out to the stable, and seeing my borrowed nag stand ready saddled and bridled, he asked his man whence that horse came; who telling him he fetched it from Mr. such an one's, "Then ride him presently back," said my father, "and tell Mr. — I desire he will never lend my son a horse again, unless he brings a note from me."

The poor fellow, who loved me well, would have fain made excuses and delays; but my father was positive in his command, and so urgent that he would not let him stay so much as to take his breakfast, though he had five miles to ride; nor would he himself stir from the stable till he had seen the man mounted and gone. Then coming in, he went up into his chamber to make himself more fully ready, thinking he had me safe enough now my horse was gone; for I took so much delight in riding that I seldom went on foot. But while he was dressing himself in his chamber, I, who understood what had been done, changing my boots for shoes, took another hat, and, acquainting my sister, who loved me very well, and whom I could confide in, whither I meant to go, went out privately, and walked away to Wycombe, having seven long miles thither, which yet seemed little and easy to me, from the desire I had to be among Friends.

As thus I travelled all alone, under the load of grief, from the sense I had of the opposition and hardship I was to expect from my father, theene my took advantage to assault me again, casting a doubt into my mind whether I had done well in thus coming away

from my father without his leave or knowledge. I was quiet and peaceable in any spirit before this question was darted into me; but after that, disturbance and trouble seized upon me, so that I was at a stand what to do, whether to go forward or backward. Fear of offending inclined me to go back, but desire of meeting, and to be with Friends, pressed me to go forward. I stood still awhile to consider and weigh, as well as I could, the matter. I was sensibly satisfied that I had not left my father with any intention of undutifulness or disrespect to him, but merely in obedience to that drawing of spirit, which I was persuaded was of the Lord, to join with his people in worshipping him: and this made me easy.

But then the enemy, to make me uneasy again, objected: "But how could that drawing be of the Lord, which drew me to disobey my father?" I considered thereupon the extent of paternal power, which I found was not wholly arbitrary and unlimited, but had bounds set unto it; so that, as in civil matters it was restrained to things lawful, so in spiritual and religious cases it had not a compulsory power over conscience, which ought to be subject to the Heavenly Father. And therefore, though obedience to parents be enjoined to children, yet it is with this limitation in the Lord: "Children, obey your parents in the Lord; for this is right." (1 Pet. vi. 1.)

This turned the scale for going forward, and so on I went. And yet I was not wholly free from some fluctuations of mind, from the besettings of the enemy. Wherefore, although I knew that outward signs did not properly belong to the gospel dispensation, yet for my better assurance I did, in fear and great humility, beseech the Lord that he would be pleased so far to

condescend to the weakness of his servant, as to give me a sign by which I might certainly know whether my way was right before him or not.

The sign which I asked was, that if I had done wrong in coming as I did, I might be rejected, or but coldly received at the place I was going to; but if this my undertaking was right in his sight, that he would give me favor with them I went to, so that they should receive me with kindness and demonstrations of love. Accordingly, when I came to John Raunce's house (which, being so much a stranger to all, I chose to go to, because I understood the meeting was commonly held there), they received me with more than ordinary kindness, especially Frances Raunce, John Raunce's then wife, who was both a grave and motherly woman, and had a hearty love to truth, and tenderness towards all that in sincerity sought after it. And this so kind reception, confirming me in the belief that my undertaking was approved of by the Lord, gave great satisfaction and ease to my mind; and I was thankful to the Lord therefore.

Thus it fared with me there; but at home it fared otherwise with my father. He, supposing I had betaken myself to my chamber when he took my hat from me, made no inquiry after me till evening came; and then, sitting by the fire and considering the weather was very cold, he said to my sister, who sat by him, "Go up to your brother's chamber, and call him down; it may be he will sit there else, in a sullen fit, till he has caught cold." "Alas! sir," said she, "he is not in his chamber, nor in the house either." At that my father, startling, said, "Why, where is he then?" "I know not, sir," said she, "where he is; but I know that when he saw you had sent away his horse,

he put on shoes, and went out on foot, and I have not seen him since. And indeed, sir," added she, "I don't wonder at his going away, considering how you used him." This put my father into a great fright, doubting I was gone quite away; and so great a passion of grief seized on him, that he forbore not to weep, and to cry out aloud, so that the family heard him, "Oh! my son! I shall never see him more! for he is of so bold and resolute a spirit, that he will run himself into danger, and so may be thrown into some jail or other, where he may lie and die before I can hear of him." Then bidding her light him up to his chamber, he went immediately to bed, where he lay restless and groaning, and often bemoaning himself and me, for the greatest part of the night.

Next morning my sister sent a man, whom for his love to me she knew she could trust, to give me this account; and though by him she sent me also fresh linen for my use, in case I should go farther, or stay out longer, yet she desired me to come home as soon as I could.

This account was very uneasy to me. I was much grieved that I had occasioned so much grief to my father; and I would have returned that evening after the meeting, but the Friends would not permit it, for the meeting would in likelihood end late, the days being short, and the way was long and dirty. And besides, John Raunce told me he had something on his mind to speak to my father, and that if I would stay till next day he would go down with me, hoping, perhaps, that while my father was under this sorrow for me, he might work some good upon him. Hereupon, concluding to stay till the morrow, I dismissed the man with the things he brought, bidding him tell my

sister I intended, God willing, to return home to-morrow ; and charging him not to let anybody else know that he had seen me, or where he had been.

Next morning John Raunce and I set out, and when we were come to the end of the town, we agreed that he should go before and knock at the great gate, and I would come a little after, and go in by the back way. He did so ; and when a servant came to open the gate, he asking if the justice were at home, she told him yes ; and desiring him to come in and sit down in the hall, went and acquainted her master that there was one who desired to speak with him. He, supposing it was one that came for justice, went readily into the hall to him. But he was not a little surprised when he found it was a Quaker ; yet, not knowing on what account he came, he stayed to hear his business. But when he found it was about me, he fell somewhat sharply on him.

In this time I was come by the back way into the kitchen, and, hearing my father's voice so loud, I began to doubt things wrought not well ; but I was soon assured of that. For my father, having quickly enough of the Quaker's company, left John Raunce in the hall, and came into the kitchen, where he was more surprised to find me. The sight of my hat upon my head made him presently forget that I was that son of his whom he had so lately lamented as lost ; and his passion of grief turning into anger, he could not contain himself, but, running upon me with both his hands, first violently snatched off my hat, and threw it away, then, giving me some buffets upon my head, he said, " Sirrah, get you up to your chamber." I forthwith went, he following me at my heels, and now and then giving me a whirret on the ear, which, the way to my cham-

ber lying through the hall where John Raunce was, he, poor man, might see and be sorry for, as I doubt not that he was, but could not help me.

This was sure an unaccountable thing, that my father should but a day before express so high a sorrow for me, as fearing he should never see me any more, and yet now, so soon as he did see me, should fly upon me with such violence, and that only because I did not put off my hat, which he knew I did not put on in disrespect to him, but upon a religious principle. But as this hat-honor, as it was accounted, was grown to be a great idol, in those times more especially, so the Lord was pleased to engage his servants in a steady testimony against it, what suffering soever was brought upon them for it. And though some who have been called into the Lord's vineyard at later hours, and since the heat of that day hath been much over, may be apt to account this testimony a small thing to suffer so much upon, as some have done, not only to beating, but to fines and long and hard imprisonments; yet they who, in those times, were faithfully exercised in and under it durst not despise the day of small things, as knowing that he who should do so would not be thought worthy to be concerned in higher testimonies.

I had now lost one of my hats, and I had but one more. That therefore I put on, but I did not keep it long, for the next time my father saw it on my head, he tore it violently from me, and laid it up with the other, I knew not where. Wherefore I put on my mountier-cap, which was all I had left to wear on my head, and it was but a very little while that I had that to wear; for as soon as my father came where I was, I lost that also. And now I was forced to go bare-

headed, wherever I had occasion to go, within doors and without.

This was in the eleventh month, called January, and the weather sharp, so that I, who had been bred up more tenderly, took so great a cold in my head, that my face and head were much swelled, and my gums had on them boils so sore, that I could neither chew meat, nor without difficulty swallow liquids. It held long, and I underwent much pain, without much pity, except from my poor sister, who did what she could to give me ease; and at length, by frequent applications of figs and stoned raisins toasted, and laid on the boils as hot as I could bear them, they ripened fit for lancing, and soon after sunk; then I had ease.

Now was I laid up as a kind of prisoner for the rest of the winter, having no means to go forth among Friends, nor they at liberty to come to me. Wherefore I spent the time much in my chamber, in waiting on the Lord, and in reading, mostly in the Bible. But whenever I had occasion to speak to my father, though I had no hat now to offend him, yet my language did as much, for I durst not say *you* to him, but *thou* or *thee*, as the occasion required, and then would he be sure to fall on me with his fists.

At one of these times, I remember, when he had beaten me in that manner, he commanded me, as he commonly did at such times, to go to my chamber; which I did, and he followed me to the bottom of the stairs. Being come thither, he gave me a parting blow, and in a very angry tone said, "Sirrah, if ever I hear you say *thou* or *thee* to me again, I'll strike your teeth down your throat." I was greatly grieved to hear him say so. And feeling a word rise in my heart unto him, I turned again, and calmly said unto

him, "Would it not be just if God should serve thee so, when thou sayest *thou* or *thee* to him?" Though his hand was up, I saw it sink and his countenance fall, and he turned away and left me standing there.

But I notwithstanding went up into my chamber, and cried unto the Lord, earnestly beseeching him that he would be pleased to open my father's eyes, that he might see whom he fought against, and for what; and that he would turn his heart.

After this I had a pretty time of rest and quiet from these disturbances, my father not saying anything to me, nor giving me occasion to say anything to him. But I was still under a kind of confinement, unless I would have run about the country bareheaded like a madman; which I did not see it was my place to do. For I found that, although to be abroad and at liberty among my friends would have been more pleasant to me, yet home was at present my proper place, a school in which I was to learn with patience to bear the cross; and I willingly submitted to it.

But after some time a fresh storm, more fierce and sharp than any before, arose and fell upon me; the occasion whereof was this. My father, who (having been in his younger years, more especially while he lived in London, a constant hearer of those who are called Puritan preachers) had stored up a pretty stock of Scripture knowledge, did sometimes, not constantly nor very often, cause his family to come together on a first day in the evening, and expound a chapter to them, and pray. His family now, as well as his estate, was lessened; for my mother was dead, my brother gone, and my elder sister at London; and having put off his husbandry, he had put off with it most of his servants, so that he had now but one man and one

maid-servant. It so fell out, that on a first-day night he bid my sister, who sat with him in the parlor, call in the servants to prayer.

Whether this was done as a trial upon me or no, I know not, but a trial it proved to me ; for they loving me very well, and disliking my father's carriage to me, made no haste to go in, but stayed a second summons. This so offended him, that when at length they did go in, he, instead of going to prayer, examined them why they came not in when they were first called ; and the answer they gave him being such as rather heightened than abated his displeasure, he, with an angry tone, said, "Call in that fellow," (meaning me, who was left alone in the kitchen), "for he is the cause of all this." They, as they were backward to go in themselves, so were not forward to call me in, fearing the effect of my father's displeasure would fall upon me, as soon it did ; for I hearing what was said, and not staying for the call, went in of myself. And as soon as I was come in my father discharged his displeasure at me in very sharp and bitter expressions, which drew from me, in the grief of my heart to see him so transported with passion, these few words: "They that can pray with such a spirit let them ; for my part I cannot." With that my father flew upon me with both his fists, and, not thinking that sufficient, stepped hastily to the place where his cane stood, and catching that up, laid on me, I thought, with all his strength. And, I being bareheaded, I thought his blows must needs have broken my skull, had I not laid my arm over my head to defend it.

His man seeing this, and not able to contain himself, stepped in between us, and, laying hold on the cane, by strength of hand held it so fast that though he

attempted not to take it away, yet he withheld my father from striking with it, which did but enrage him the more. I disliked this in the man, and bid him let go the cane, and be gone, which he immediately did, and turning to be gone had a blow on the shoulders for his pains, which yet did not much hurt him. But now my sister, fearing lest my father should fall upon me again, besought him to forbear, adding, "Indeed, sir, if you strike him any more, I will throw open the casement and cry out murder, for I am afraid you will kill my brother." This stopped his hand, and after some threatening speeches, he commanded me to get to my chamber, which I did; as I always did whenever he bid me.

Thither, soon after, my sister followed me to see my arm and dress it, for it was indeed very much bruised and swelled between the wrist and the elbow, and in some places the skin was broken and beaten off. But though it was very sore, and I felt for some time much pain in it, yet I had peace and quietness in my mind, being more grieved for my father than for myself, who I knew had hurt himself more than me. This was, so far as I remember, the last time that ever my father called his family to prayer. And this was also the last time that he ever fell, so severely at least, upon me.

Soon after this my elder sister, who in all the time of these exercises of mine had been at London, returned home, much troubled to find me a Quaker,—a name of reproach and great contempt then; and she being at London had received, I suppose, the worst character of them. Yet, though she disliked the people, her affectionate regard to me made her rather pity than despise me: and the more, when she understood what hard usage I had met with.

The rest of this winter I spent in a lonesome, solitary life, having none to converse with, none to unbosom myself unto, none to ask counsel of, none to seek relief from, but the Lord alone, who yet was more than all. And yet the company and society of faithful and judicious friends would, I thought, have been very welcome, as well as helpful to me in my spiritual travail; in which I thought I made but a slow progress, my soul breathing after further attainments: the sense of which drew from me the following lines:—

The winter tree
Resembles me,
Whose sap lies in its root:
The spring draws nigh;
As it, so I
Shall bud, I hope, and shoot.

At length it pleased the Lord to move Isaac Penington and his wife to make a visit to my father, and see how it fared with me: and very welcome they were to me, whatever they were to him; to whom I doubt not but they would have been more welcome had it not been for me. They tarried with us all night, and much discourse they had with my father both about the principles of truth in general, and me in particular, which I was not privy to. But one thing I remember I afterwards heard of, which was this:—

When my father and I were at their house some months before, Mary Penington, in some discourse then, had told him how hardly her husband's father, Alderman Penington, had dealt with him about his hat; which my father, little then thinking that it would, and so soon too, be his own case, did very much censure the alderman for; wondering that so wise a

man as he was should take notice of such a trivial thing as the putting off or keeping on of a hat ; and he spared not to blame him liberally for it. This gave her a handle to take hold of him by. And having had an ancient acquaintance with him, and he having always had a high opinion of and respect for her, she, who was a woman of great wisdom, of ready speech, and of a well-resolved spirit, did press so close upon him with this home argument, that he was utterly to seek, and at a loss how to defend himself.

After dinner next day, when they were ready to take coach to return home, she desired my father that, since my company was so little acceptable to him, he would give me leave to go and spend some time with them, where I should be sure to be welcome. He was very unwilling I should go, and made many objections against it, all which she answered and removed so clearly, that not finding what excuse farther to allege, he at length left it to me, and I soon turned the scale for going.

We were come to the coach side before this was concluded on, and I was ready to step in, when one of my sisters privately put my father in mind that I had never a hat on. That somewhat startled him, for he did not think it fit I should go from home, and that so far, and to stay abroad without a hat. Wherefore he whispered to her to fetch me a hat, and he entertained them with some discourse in the mean time. But as soon as he saw the hat coming he would not stay till it came, lest I should put it on before him, but, breaking off his discourse abruptly, took his leave of them, and hastened in before the hat was brought to me.

I had not one penny of money about me, nor indeed *elsewhere* ; for my father, as soon as he saw I would

be a Quaker, took from me both what money I had, and everything else of value, or that would have made money, as some plate buttons, rings, etc., pretending that he would keep them for me till I came to myself again, lest I, in the mean time, should destroy them. But as I had no money, so being among my friends I had no need of any, nor ever honed after it; though once upon a particular occasion I had like to have wanted it; the case was thus:—

I had been at Reading, and set out from thence on the first day of the week in the morning, intending to reach (as in point of time I well might) to Isaac Pennington's, where the meeting was to be that day; but when I came to Maidenhead, a thoroughfare town on the way, I was stopped by the watch for riding on that day. The watchman, laying hold on the bridle, told me I must go with him to the constable; and accordingly I, making no resistance, suffered him to lead my horse to the constable's door. When we were come there, the constable told me I must go before the warden, who was the chief officer of that town, and bid the watchman bring me on, himself walking before.

Being come to the warden's door, the constable knocked, and desired to speak with Mr. Warden. He thereupon quickly coming to the door, the constable said: "Sir, I have brought a man here to you, whom the watch took riding through the town." The warden was a budge old man; and I looked somewhat big too, having a good horse under me, and a good riding coat on my back, both which my friend Isaac Pennington had kindly accommodated me with for that journey. The warden therefore, taking me to be, as the saying is, somebody, put off his hat and made a low counge to me; but when he saw that I sat still, and

neither bowed to him nor moved my hat, he gave a start, and said to the constable: "You said you had brought a man, but he don't behave himself like a man." I sat still upon my horse, and said not a word, but kept my mind retired to the Lord, waiting to see what this would come to.

The warden then began to examine me, asking me whence I came, and whither I was going: I told him I came from Reading, and was going to Chalfont. He asked me why I did travel on that day: I told him I did not know that it would give any offence barely to ride or to walk on that day, so long as I did not carry or drive any carriage, or horses laden with burdens. "Why," said he, "if your business was urgent, did you not take a pass from the mayor of Reading?" "Because," replied I, "I did not know nor think I should have needed one." "Well," said he, "I will not talk with you now, because it is time to go to church, but I will examine you farther anon." And turning to the constable, "Have him," said he, "to an inn, and bring him before me after dinner."

The naming of an inn put me in mind that such public houses were places of expense, and I knew I had no money to defray it: wherefore I said to the warden: "Before thou sendest me to an inn, which may occasion some expense, I think it needful to acquaint thee that I have no money." At that the warden startled again, and, turning quick upon me, said, "How! no money? How can that be? You don't look like a man that has no money." "However I look," said I, "I tell thee the truth, that I have no money; and I tell it to forewarn thee, that thou mayest not bring any charge upon the town." "I wonder," said he, "what art you have got, that you can travel without money; you can do more, I assure you, than I can."

I making no answer, he went on and said: "Well, well! but if you have no money, you have a good horse under you, and we can distrain him for the charge." "But," said I, "the horse is not mine." "No!" said he, "but you have a good coat on your back, and that I hope is your own." "No," said I, "but it is not, for I borrowed both the horse and the coat." With that the warden, holding up his hands, and smiling, said, "Bless me! I never met with such a man as you are before! What! were you set out by the parish?" Then turning to the constable, he said, "Have him to the Greyhound, and bid the people be civil to him." Accordingly to the Greyhound I was led, my horse set up, and I put into a large room, and some account, I suppose, given of me to the people of the house.

This was new work to me, and what the issue of it would be I could not foresee; but, being left there alone, I sat down, and retired in spirit to the Lord, in whom alone my strength and safety was, and begged support of him; even that he would be pleased to give me wisdom and words to answer the warden, when I should come to be examined again before him.

After some time, having pen, ink, and paper about me, I set myself to write what I thought might be proper, if occasion served, to give the warden; and while I was writing, the master of the house, being come home from his worship, sent the tapster to me, to invite me to dine with him. I bid him tell his master that I had not any money to pay for my dinner. He sent the man again to tell me I should be welcome to dine with him, though I had no money. I desired him to tell his master that I was very sensible of his

civility and kindness in so courteously inviting me to his table, but that I had not freedom to eat of his meat unless I could have paid for it. So he went on with his dinner, and I with my writing.

But before I had finished what was on my mind to write, the constable came again, bringing with him his fellow-constable. This was a brisk, genteel young man, a shopkeeper in the town, whose name was Cherry. They saluted me very civilly, and told me they were come to have me before the warden. This put an end to my writing, which I put into my pocket, and went along with them.

Being come to the warden's, he asked me again the same questions he had asked me before; to which I gave him the like answers. Then he told me the penalty I had incurred, which he said was either to pay so much money, or lie so many hours in the stocks, and asked me which I would choose. I replied, "I shall not choose either. And," said I, "I have told thee already that I have no money; though if I had, I could not so far acknowledge myself an offender as to pay any. But as to lying in the stocks, I am in thy power to do unto me what it shall please the Lord to suffer thee."

When he heard that, he paused awhile, and then told me he considered that I was but a young man, and might not perhaps understand the danger I had brought myself into, and therefore he would not use the severity of the law upon me; but in hopes that I would be wiser hereafter, he would pass by this offence, and discharge me.

Then, putting on a countenance of the greatest gravity, he said to me: "But, young man, I would have you know that you have not only broken the

law of the land, but the law of God also ; and therefore you ought to ask him forgiveness, for you have offended him." "That," said I, "I would most willingly do if I were sensible that in this case I had offended him by breaking any law of his." "Why," said he, "do you question that?" "Yes, truly," said I, "for I do not know that any law of God doth forbid me to ride on this day."

"No!" said he, "that's strange! Where, I wonder, was you bred? You can read, can't you?" "Yes," said I, "that I can." "Don't you then read," said he, "the commandment, 'Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord; in it thou shalt not do any work'?" "Yes," replied I, "I have both read it often, and remember it very well. But that command was given to the Jews, not to Christians; and this is not that day, for that was the seventh day, but this is the first." "How!" said he, "do you know the days of the week no better? You had need then be better taught."

Here the younger constable, whose name was Cherry, interposing, said, "Mr. Warden, the gentleman is in the right as to that, for this is the first day of the week, and not the seventh." This the old warden took in dudgeon; and, looking severely on the constable, said: "What! do you take upon you to teach me? I'll have you know I will not be taught by you." "As you please for that, sir," said the constable, "but I am sure you are mistaken in this point; for Saturday, I know, is the seventh day, and you know yesterday was Saturday."

This made the warden hot and testy, and put him

almost out of all patience, so that I feared it would have come to a downright quarrel betwixt them, for both were confident and neither would yield. And so earnestly were they engaged in the contest, that there was no room for me to put in a word between them. At length the old man, having talked himself out of wind, stood still awhile as it were to take breath, and then, bethinking himself of me, he turned to me and said: "You are discharged, and may take your liberty to go about your occasions." "But," said I, "I desire my horse may be discharged too, else I know not how to go." "Aye, aye," said he, "you shall have your horse"; and, turning to the other constable, who had not offended him, he said, "Go, see that his horse be delivered to him."

Away thereupon went I with that constable, leaving the old warden and the young constable to compose their difference as they could. Being come to the inn, the constable called for my horse to be brought out; which done, I immediately mounted, and began to set forward. But the ostler, not knowing the condition of my pocket, said modestly to me, "Sir, don't you forget to pay for your horse's standing?" "No, truly," said I, "I don't forget it, but I have no money to pay it with, and so I told the warden before." "Well, hold you your tongue," said the constable to the ostler, "I'll see you paid." Then opening the gate they let me out, the constable wishing me a good journey, and through the town I rode without further molestation; though it was as much Sabbath, I thought, when I went out, as it was when I came in.

A secret joy arose in me as I rode on the way, for that I had been preserved from doing or saying anything which might give the adversaries of truth ad-

vantage against it or the friends of it; and praises sprang in my thankful heart to the Lord, my preserver. It added also not a little to my joy that I felt the Lord near unto me, by his witness in my heart, to check and warn me; and my spirit was so far subjected to him, as readily to take warning, and stop at his check; an instance of both, that very morning, I had.

For as I rode between Reading and Maidenhead, I saw lying in my way the scabbard of a hanger, which, having lost its hook, had slipped off, I suppose, and dropped from the side of the wearer; and it had in it a pair of knives, whose hafts, being inlaid with silver, seemed to be of some value. I alighted and took it up, and, clapping it between my thigh and the saddle, rode on a little way; but I quickly found it too heavy for me, and the reprover in me soon began to check. The words arose in me, "What hast thou to do with that? Doth it belong to thee?" I felt I had done amiss in taking it; wherefore I turned back to the place where it lay, and laid it down where I found it. And when afterwards I was stopped and seized on at Maidenhead, I saw there was a providence in not bringing it with me, which, if it should have been found (as it needs must) under my coat when I came to be unhorsed, might have raised some evil suspicion or sinister thoughts concerning me.

The stop I met with at Maidenhead had spent me so much time, that when I came to Isaac Penington's, the meeting there was half over, which gave them occasion, after meeting, to inquire of me if anything had befallen me on the way, which had caused me to come so late: whereupon I related to them what exercise I had met with, and how the Lord had helped me

through it ; which when they had heard, they rejoiced with me, and for my sake.

Great was the love and manifold the kindness which I received from these my worthy friends, Isaac and Mary Penington, while I abode in their family. They were indeed as affectionate parents and tender nurses to me in this time of my religious childhood. For, besides their weighty and seasonable counsels and exemplary conversations, they furnished me with means to go to the other meetings of Friends in that country, when the meeting was not in their own house. And, indeed, the time I stayed with them was so well spent that it not only yielded great satisfaction to my mind, but turned, in good measure, to my spiritual advantage in the truth.

But that I might not, on the one hand, bear too hard upon my friends, nor on the other hand forget the house of thralldom, after I had stayed with them some six or seven weeks, from the time called Easter to the time called Whitsuntide, I took my leave of them to depart home, intending to walk to Wycombe in one day, and from thence home in another.

The day that I came home I did not see my father, nor until noon the next day, when I went into the parlor where he was, to take my usual place at dinner. As soon as I came in I observed by my father's countenance that my hat was still an offence to him ; but when I was sitting down, and before I had eaten anything, he made me understand it more fully, but in a milder tone than he had formerly used to speak to me in. "If you cannot content yourself to come to dinner without your hive on your head [so he called my hat], pray rise, and go take your dinner somewhere else."

Upon those words I arose from the table, and leaving the room went into the kitchen, where I stayed till the servants went to dinner, and then sat down very contentedly with them. Yet I suppose my father might intend that I should have gone into some other room, and there have eaten by myself. But I chose rather to eat with the servants, and did so from thenceforward, so long as he and I lived together. And from this time he rather chose, as I thought, to avoid seeing me, than to renew the quarrel about my hat.

My sisters, meanwhile, observing my wariness in words and behavior, and being satisfied, I suppose, that I acted upon a principle of religion and conscience, carried themselves very kindly to me, and did what they could to mitigate my father's displeasure against me. So that I now enjoyed much more quiet at home, and took more liberty to go abroad amongst my friends, than I had done or could do before. And having informed myself where any meetings of Friends were held, within a reasonable distance from me, I resorted to them.

As thus I daily waited on the Lord, a weighty and unusual exercise came upon me, which bowed my spirit very low before the Lord. I had seen, in the light of the Lord, the horrible guilt of those deceitful priests, of divers sorts and denominations, who made a trade of preaching, and for filthy lucre's sake held the people always learning; yet so taught them as that, by their teaching and ministry, they were never able to come to the knowledge, much less to the acknowledgment of the truth: for as they themselves hated the light, because their own deeds were evil, so by reviling, reproaching, and blaspheming the true light, wherewith every

man that cometh into the world is enlightened (John i. 9.), they begat in the people a disesteem of the light; and labored, as much as in them lay, to keep their hearers in the darkness, that they might not be turned to the light in themselves, lest by the light they should discover the wickedness of these their deceitful teachers, and turn from them.

Against this practice of these false teachers, the zeal of the Lord had flamed in my breast for some time; and now the burden of the word of the Lord against them fell heavy upon me, with command to proclaim his controversy against them.

Fain would I have been excused from this service, which I judged too heavy for me; wherefore I besought the Lord to take this weight from off me, who was in every respect but young, and lay it upon some other of his servants, of whom he had many, who were much more able and fit for it. But the Lord would not be entreated, but continued the burden upon me with greater weight; requiring obedience from me, and promising to assist me therein. Whereupon I arose from my bed, and, in the fear and dread of the Lord, committed to writing what he, in the motion of his divine spirit, dictated to me to write. When I had done it, though the sharpness of the message therein delivered was hard to my nature to be the publisher of, yet I found acceptance with the Lord in my obedience to his will, and his peace filled my heart. As soon as I could, I communicated to my friends what I had written; and it was printed in the year 1660, in one sheet of paper, under the title of "An Alarm to the Priests; or, A Message from Heaven to forewarn them, etc."

Some time after the publishing of this paper hav-

ing occasion to go to London, I went to visit George Fox the younger, who, with another Friend, was then a prisoner in a messenger's hands. I had never seen him, nor he me before; yet this paper lying on the table before him, he, pointing to it, asked me if I was the person that wrote it. I told him I was. "It's much," said the other Friend, "that they bear it." "It is," replied he, "their portion, and they must bear it."

While I was in London, I went to a little meeting of Friends, which was held in the house of one Humphrey Bache, a goldsmith, at the sign of The Snail, in Tower Street. It was then a very troublesome time, not from the government, but from the rabble of boys and rude people, who, upon the turn of the times at the return of the king, took liberty to be very abusive.

When the meeting was ended, a pretty number of these unruly folk were got together at the door, ready to receive the Friends as they came forth, not only with evil words, but with blows; which I saw they bestowed freely on some of them that were gone out before me, and expected I should have my share when I came amongst them. But, quite contrary to my expectation, when I came out, they said one to another, "Let him alone; don't meddle with him; he is no Quaker, I'll warrant you."

This struck me, and was worse to me than if they had laid their fists on me, as they did on others. I was troubled to think what the matter was, or what these rude people saw in me that made them not take me for a Quaker. And upon a close examination of myself, with respect to my habit and deportment, I could not find anything to place it on, but that I had then on my head a large mountier-cap of black vel-

vet, the skirt of which being turned up in folds, looked, it seems, somewhat above the then common garb of a Quaker; and this put me out of conceit with my cap. .

I came at this time to London from Isaac Penington's, and thither I went again in my way home; and while I stayed there, amongst other Friends who came thither, Thomas Loe, of Oxford, was one. A faithful and diligent laborer he was in the work of the Lord, and an excellent ministerial gift he had. And I in my zeal for truth, being very desirous that my neighbors might have an opportunity of hearing the gospel, the glad tidings of salvation, livingly and powerfully preached among them, entered into communion with him about it; offering to procure some convenient place in the town where I lived, for a meeting to be held, and to invite my neighbors to it, if he could give me any ground to expect his company at it. He told me he was not at his own command, but at the Lord's, and he knew not how he might dispose of him; but wished me, if I found, when I was come home, that the thing continued with weight upon my mind, and that I could get a fit place for a meeting, I would advertise him of it by a few lines, directed to him in Oxford, whither he was then going, and he might then let me know how his freedom stood in that matter.

When therefore I was come home, and had treated with a neighbor for a place to have a meeting in, I wrote to my friend, Thomas Loe, to acquaint him that I had procured a place for a meeting, and would invite company to it, if he would fix the time, and give me some ground to hope that he would be at it.

This letter I sent by a neighbor to Thame, to be given to a dyer of Oxford, who constantly kept Thame

market, with whom I was pretty well acquainted, having sometimes formerly used him, not only in his way of trade, but to carry letters between my brother and me, when he was a student in that university, for which he was always paid, and he had been so careful in the delivery that our letters had always gone safe until now. But this time (Providence so ordering, or, at least, for my trial permitting it) this letter of mine, instead of being delivered according to its direction, was seized and carried, as I was told, to the Lord Faulkland, who was then called lord lieutenant of that county.

The occasion of this stopping of letters at that time was that mad prank of those infatuated Fifth-monarchy men, who, from their meeting-house in Coleman Street, London, breaking forth in arms, under the command of their chieftain, Venner, made an insurrection in the city, on pretence of setting up the kingdom of Jesus, who, it is said, they expected would come down from Heaven to be their leader. So little understood they the nature of his kingdom, though he himself had declared it was not of this world.

The king, a little before his arrival in England, had by his declaration from Breda, given assurance of liberty to tender consciences, and that no man should be disquieted, or called in question for difference of opinion in matters of religion, who did not disturb the peace of the kingdom. Upon this assurance dissenters of all sorts relied, and held themselves secure. But now, by this frantic action of a few hot-brained men, the king was by some held discharged from his royal word and promise, in his foregoing declaration publicly given. And hereupon letters were intercepted and broken open, for discovery of suspected plots and designs

against the government; and not only dissenters' meetings, of all sorts, without distinction, were disturbed, but very many were imprisoned in most parts throughout the nation; and great search there was, in all counties, for suspected persons, who, if not found at meetings, were fetched in from their own houses.

The Lord Lieutenant (so called) of Oxfordshire had on this occasion taken Thomas Loe and many other of our friends at a meeting, and sent them prisoners to Oxford Castle, just before my letter was brought to his hand, wherein I had invited Thomas Loe to a meeting, and he, putting the worst construction upon it, as if I (a poor simple lad) had intended a seditious meeting, in order to raise rebellion, ordered two of the deputy lieutenants, who lived nearest to me, to send a party of horse to fetch me in.

Accordingly, while I, wholly ignorant of what had passed at Oxford, was in daily expectation of an agreeable answer to my letter, came a party of horse one morning to my father's gate and asked for me. It so fell out that my father was at that time from home, I think in London; whereupon he that commanded the party alighted and came in. My eldest sister, hearing the noise of soldiers, came hastily up into my chamber, and told me there were soldiers below, who inquired for me. I forthwith went down to them, and found the commander was a barber of Thame, and one who had always been my barber till I was a Quaker. His name was Whately, a bold brisk fellow.

I asked him what his business was with me: he told me I must go with him. I demanded to see his warrant: he laid his hand on his sword, and said that

was his warrant. I told him, though that was not a legal warrant, yet I would not dispute it, but was ready to bear injuries. He told me he could not help it, he was commanded to bring me forthwith before the deputy lieutenants, and therefore desired me to order a horse to be got ready, because he was in haste. I let him know I had no horse of my own, and would not meddle with any of my father's horses, in his absence especially; and that therefore, if he would have me with him, he must carry me as he could. He thereupon, taking my sister aside, told her he found I was resolute, and his orders were peremptory; wherefore he desired that she would give orders for a horse to be got ready for me, for otherwise he should be forced to mount me behind a trooper, which would be very unsuitable for me, and which he was very unwilling to do. She thereupon ordered a horse to be got ready, upon which, when I had taken leave of my sisters, I mounted, and went off, not knowing whither he intended to carry me.

He had orders, it seems, to take some others also in a neighboring village, whose names he had, but their houses he did not know. Wherefore, as we rode, he asked me if I knew such and such men, whom he named, and where they lived; and when he understood that I knew them, he desired me to show him their houses. "No," said I, "I scorn to be an informer against my neighbors, to bring them into trouble." He thereupon, riding to and fro, found by inquiry most of their houses; but, as it happened, found none of them at home, at which I was glad.

At length he brought me to the house of one called Esquire Clark, of Weston, by Thame, who, being afterwards knighted, was called Sir John Clark; a jolly man, too much addicted to drinking in soberer times,

but was now grown more licentious that way, as the times did now more favor debauchery. He and I had known one another for some years, though not very intimately, having met sometimes at the Lord Wenman's table. This Clark was one of the deputy-lieutenants, whom I was brought before. And he had gotten another thither to join with him in tendering me the oaths, whom I knew only by name and character; and who was called Esquire Knowls, of Grays, by Henley, and reputed a man of better morals than the other.

I was brought into the hall, and kept there; and as Quakers were not so common then as they now are (and indeed even yet, the more is the pity, they are not common in that part of the country), I was made a spectacle and gazing-stock to the family, and by divers I was diversely set upon. Some spake to me courteously, with appearance of compassion; others ruggedly, with evident tokens of wrath and scorn. But though I gave them the hearing of what they said, which I could not well avoid, yet I said little to them; but, keeping my mind as well retired as I could, I breathed to the Lord for help and strength from him to bear me up and carry me through this trial, that I might not sink under it, or be prevailed on by any means, fair or foul, to do anything that might dishonor or displease my God.

At length came forth the justices themselves (for so they were, as well as lieutenants), and after they had saluted me, they discoursed with me pretty familiarly; and though Clark would sometimes be a little jocular and waggish, which was somewhat natural to him, yet Knowls treated me very civilly, not seeming to take any offence at my not standing bare before

him. And when a young priest, who, as I understood, was chaplain to the family, took upon him pragmatically to reprove me for standing with my hat on before the magistrates, and snatched my cap from off my head, Knowls, in a pleasant manner, corrected him, telling him he mistook himself, in taking a cap for a hat (for mine was a mountier-cap), and bid him give it me again ; which he, though unwillingly, doing, I forthwith put it on my head again, and thenceforward none meddled with me about it.

Then they began to examine me, putting divers questions to me relating to the present disturbances in the nation, occasioned by the late foolish insurrection of those frantic Fifth-monarchy men. To all which I readily answered, according to the simplicity of my heart, and innocency of my hands ; for I had neither done nor thought any evil against the government. But they endeavored to affright me with threats of danger, telling me, with innuendoes, that for all my pretence to innocency, there was a high matter against me, which, if I would stand out, would be brought forth, and that under my own hand. I knew not what they meant by this ; but I knew my innocency, and kept to it.

At length, when they saw I regarded not their threats in general, they asked me if I knew one Thomas Loe, and had written of late to him. I then remembered my letter, which till then I had not thought of, and thereupon frankly told them that I did both know Thomas Loe, and had lately written to him ; but that as I knew I had written no hurt, so I did not fear any danger from that letter. They shook their heads, and said, "It was dangerous to write letters to appoint meetings in such troublesome times." They added,

that by appointing a meeting, and endeavoring to gather a concourse of people together, in such a juncture especially as this was, I had rendered myself a dangerous person ; and, therefore, they could do no less than tender me the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which therefore they required me to take.

I told them, if I could take an oath at all, I would take the oath of allegiance, for I owed allegiance to the king. But I durst not take any oath, because my lord and master, Jesus Christ, had commanded me not to swear at all ; and if I brake his command, I should both dishonor and displease him.

Hereupon they undertook to reason with me, and used many words to persuade me that that command of Christ related only to common and profane swearing, not to swearing before a magistrate. I heard them, and saw the weakness of their arguings, but did not return them any answer ; for I found my present business was not to dispute, but to suffer ; and that it was not safe for me, in this my weak and childish state especially, to enter into reasonings with sharp, quick, witty, and learned men, lest I might thereby hurt both the cause of truth, which I was to bear witness to, and myself : therefore I chose rather to be a fool, and let them triumph over me, than by my weakness give them advantage to triumph over the truth. And my spirit being closely exercised in a deep travail towards the Lord, I earnestly begged of him that he would be pleased to keep me faithful to the testimony he had committed to me, and not suffer me to be taken in any of the snares which the enemy laid for me. And, blessed be his holy name, he heard my cries, and preserved me out of them.

When the justices saw they could not bow me to

their wills, they told me they must send me to prison. I told them I was contented to suffer whatsoever the Lord should suffer them to inflict upon me. Whereupon they withdrew into the parlor, to consult together what to do with me, leaving me meanwhile to be gazed on in the hall. After a pretty long stay they came forth to me again with great show of kindness, telling me they were very unwilling to send me to jail, but would be as favorable to me as possibly they could; and that if I would take the oaths, they would pass by all the other matter which they had against me. I told them I knew they could not justly have anything against me; for I had neither done nor intended anything against the government or against them. And as to the oaths, I assured them that my refusing them was merely a matter of conscience to me, and that I durst not take any oath whatsoever, if it were to save my life.

When they heard this they left me again, and went and signed a mittimus to send me to prison at Oxford, and charged one of the troopers that brought me thither, who was one of the newly raised militia troop, to convey me safe to Oxford. But before we departed they called the trooper aside, and gave him private instructions what he should do with me; which I knew nothing of till I came thither, but expected I should go directly to the castle.

It was almost dark when we took horse, and we had about nine or ten miles to ride, the weather thick and cold (for it was about the beginning of the twelfth month), and I had no boots, being snatched away from home on a sudden, which made me not care to ride very fast. And my guard, who was a tradesman in Thame, having confidence in me that I would not

give him the slip, jogged on without heeding how I followed him.

When I was gone about a mile on the way, I overtook my father's man, who, without my knowledge, had followed me at a distance to Weston, and waited there abroad in the stables, till he understood by some of the servants that I was to go to Oxford; and then ran before, resolving not to leave me till he saw what they would do with me. I would have had him return home, but he desired me not to send him back, but let him run on till I came to Oxford. I considered that it was a token of the fellow's affectionate kindness to me, and that possibly I might send my horse home by him: and thereupon stopping my horse, I bid him, if he would go on, get up behind me. He modestly refused, telling me he could run as fast as I rode. But when I told him if he would not ride he should not go forward, he, rather than leave me, leaped up behind me, and on we went.

But he was not willing I should have gone at all. He had a great cudgel in his hand, and a strong arm to use it; and, being a stout fellow, he had a great mind to fight the trooper, and rescue me. Wherefore he desired me to turn my horse and ride off; and if the trooper offered to pursue, leave him to deal with him. I checked him sharply for that, and charged him to be quiet, and not think hardly of the poor trooper, who could do no other nor less than he did; and who, though he had an ill journey in going with me, carried himself civilly to me. I told him also that I had no need to fly, for I had done nothing that would bring guilt or fear upon me; neither did I go with an ill will; and this quieted the man. So on we went; but were so far cast behind the trooper, that we had

lost both sight and hearing of him, and I was fain to mend my pace to get up to him again.

We came pretty late into Oxford on the seventh day of the week, which was the market day; and contrary to my expectation, which was to have been carried to the castle, my trooper stopped in the High Street, and, calling at a shop, asked for the master of the house; who, coming to the door, he delivered to him the mittimus, and with it a letter from the deputy-lieutenants, or one of them, which, when he had read, he asked where the prisoner was. Whereupon the soldier pointing to me, he desired me to alight and come in; which when I did, he received me civilly. The trooper, being discharged of his prisoner, marched back, and my father's man, seeing me settled in better quarters than he expected, mounted my horse, and went off with him.

I did not presently understand the quality of my keeper, but I found him a genteel, courteous man, by trade a linen-draper; and, as I afterwards understood, he was city-marshal, had a command in the county troop, and was a person of good repute in the place: his name was — Galloway.

Whether I was committed to him out of regard to my father, that I might not be thrust into a common jail, or out of politic design, to keep me from the conversation of my friends, in hopes that I might be drawn to abandon this profession which I had but lately taken up, I do not know. But this I know, that though I wanted no civil treatment, nor kind accommodations where I was, yet after once I understood that many Friends were prisoners in the castle, and amongst the rest Thomas Loe, I had much rather have been amongst them there, with all the inconveniences they

underwent, than where I was, with the best entertainment. But this was my present lot, and therefore with this I endeavored to be content.

It was quickly known in the city that a Quaker was brought in prisoner and committed to the marshal. Whereupon, the men Friends being generally prisoners already in the castle, some of the women Friends came to inquire after me, and to visit me; as Silas Norton's wife, and Thomas Loe's wife, who were sisters, and another woman Friend, who lived in the same street where I was, whose husband was not a Quaker, but kindly affected towards them, a baker by trade, and his name, as I remember, — Ryland.

Although my marshal-keeper was very kind to me, and allowed me the liberty of his house, yet he was not willing I should be seen abroad; the rather, perhaps, because he understood I had been pretty well known in that city. Yet once the friendly baker got him to let me step over to his house; and once, and but once, I prevailed with him to let me visit my friends in the castle; but it was with these conditions, that I should not go forth till it was dark, that I would muffle myself up in my cloak, and that I would not stay out late: all which I punctually observed.

When I came thither, though there were many Friends prisoners, I scarcely knew one of them by face, except Thomas Loe, whom I had once seen at Isaac Penington's; nor did any of them know me, though they had generally heard that such a young man as I was convinced of the truth, and come among Friends. Our salutation to each other was very grave and solemn; nor did we entertain one another with much talk, or with common discourses; but most of the little time I had with them was spent in a silent retiredness

of spirit, waiting upon the Lord. Yet, before we parted, we imparted one to another some of the exercises we had gone through; and they seeming willing to understand the ground and manner of my commitment, I gave a brief account thereof, letting Thomas Loe more particularly know that I had directed a letter to him, which, having fallen into the hand of the lord lieutenant, was, so far as I could learn, the immediate cause of my being taken up.

Having stayed with them as long as my limited time would permit, which I thought was but very short, that I might keep touch with my keeper, and come home in due time, I took leave of my friends there, and with mutual embraces parting, returned to my (in some sense more easy, but in others less easy) prison, where, after this, I stayed not long before I was brought back to my father's house. For after my father was come home, who, as I observed before, was from home when I was taken, he applied himself to those justices that had committed me, and, not having disobliged them when he was in office, easily obtained to have me sent home, which between him and them was thus contrived.

There was about this time a general muster and training of the militia forces at Oxford, whither, on that occasion, came the lord-lieutenant and deputy-lieutenants of the county, of which number they who committed me were two. When they had been awhile together and the marshal with them, he stepped suddenly in, and in haste told me I must get ready quickly to go out of town, and that a soldier would come by and by to go with me. This said, he hastened to them again, not giving me any intimation how I was to go, or whither.

I needed not much time to get ready in; but I was

uneasy in thinking what the Friends of the town would think of this my sudden and private removal; and I feared lest any report should be raised that I had purchased my liberty by an unfaithful compliance. Wherefore I was in care how to speak with some Friend about it; and that friendly baker, whose wife was a Friend, living on the other side of the street at a little distance, I went out at a back door, intending to step over the way to their house, and return immediately.

It so fell out that some of the lieutenants, of whom Esquire Clark, who committed me, was one, were standing in the balcony at a great inn or tavern, just over the place where I was to go by; and he spying me, called out to the soldiers, who stood thick in the street, to stop me. They being generally gentlemen's servants, and many of them knowing me, did civilly forbear to lay hold on me, but, calling modestly after me, said, "Stay, sir, stay; pray come back." I heard, but was not willing to hear, therefore rather mended my pace, that I might get within the door. But he calling earnestly after me, and charging them to stop me, some of them were fain to run, and, laying hold on me before I could open the door, brought me back to my place again. Being thus disappointed, I took a pen and ink and wrote a few lines, which I sealed up and gave to the apprentice in the shop, who had carried himself handsomely towards me, and desired him to deliver it to that Friend who was their neighbor; which he promised to do.

By that time I had done this, came the soldier that was appointed to conduct me out of town. I knew the man, for he lived within a mile of me, being through poverty reduced to keep an alehouse; but he had lived in better fashion, having kept an inn at Thame, and

by that means knew how to behave himself civilly, and did so to me. He told me he was ordered to wait on me to Wheatley, and to tarry there at such an inn until Esquire Clark came thither, who would then take me home with him in his coach. Accordingly to Wheatley we walked, which is from Oxford some four or five miles, and long we had not been there before Clark and a great company of rude men came in. He alighted, and stayed awhile to eat and drink, though he came but from Oxford, and invited me to eat with him; but I, though I had need enough, refused it; for indeed their conversation was a burden to my life, and made me often think of and pity good Lot.

He seemed, at that time, to be in a sort of mixed temper, between pleasantness and sourness. He would sometimes joke, which was natural to him, and cast out a jesting flirt at me; but he would rail maliciously against the Quakers. "If," said he to me, "the king would authorize me to do it, I would not leave a Quaker alive in England, except you. I would make no more," added he, "to set my pistol to their ears, and shoot them through the head, than I would to kill a dog." I told him I was sorry he had so ill an opinion of the Quakers, but I was glad he had no cause for it, and I hoped he would be of a better mind. I had in my hand a little walking-stick, with a head on it, which he commended, and took out of my hand to look on it; but I saw his intention was to search it, whether it had a tuck in it, for he tried to draw the head; but when he found it was fast, he returned it to me.

He told me I should ride with him to his house in his coach, which was nothing pleasant to me; for I had rather have gone on foot, as bad as the ways were, than I might have been out of his company. Wherefore I

took no notice of any kindness in the offer, but only answered I was at his disposal, not mine own. But when we were ready to go, the marshal came to me, and told me if I pleased I should ride his horse, and he would go in the coach with Mr. Clark. I was glad of the offer, and only told him he should take out his pistols then, for I would not ride with them. He took them out, and laid them in the coach by him, and away we went.

It was a very fine beast that I was set on, by much the best in the company. But though she was very tall, yet, the ways being very foul, I found it needful, as soon as I was out of town, to alight and take up the stirrups. Meanwhile, they driving hard on, I was so far behind, that being at length missed by the company, a soldier was sent back to look after me. As soon as I had fitted my stirrups, and was remounted, I gave the rein to my mare, which, being courageous and nimble, and impatient of delay, made great speed to recover the company. And in a narrow passage the soldier (who was my barber that had fetched me from home) and I met upon so brisk a gallop that we had enough to do on either side to take up our horses and avoid a brush.

When we were come to Weston, where Esquire Clark lived, he took the marshal, and some others with him, into the parlor; but I was left in the hall, to be exposed a second time for the family to gaze on. At length himself came out to me, leading in his hand a beloved daughter of his, a young woman of about eighteen years of age, who wanted nothing to make her comely but gravity. An airy piece she was, and very merry she made herself at me. After they had made themselves as much sport with me as they would,

the marshal took his leave of them, and mounting me on a horse of Clark's, had me home to my father's that night.

Next morning, before the marshal went away, my father and he consulted together how to entangle me. I felt there were snares laid, but I did not know in what manner or to what end till the marshal was ready to go. And then, coming where I was to take his leave of me, he desired me to take notice that although he had brought me home to my father's house again, yet I was not discharged from my imprisonment, but was his prisoner still; and that he had committed me to the care of my father, to see me forthcoming whenever I should be called for. And therefore he expected I should in all things observe my father's orders, and not go out at any time from the house without his leave.

Now I plainly saw the snare, and to what end it was laid: and I asked him if this device was not contrived to keep me from going to meetings; he said, I must not go to meetings. Whereupon I desired him to take notice that I would not own myself a prisoner to any man while I continued here. That if he had power to detain me prisoner, he might take me back again with him if he would, and I should not refuse to go with him. But I bid him assure himself, that while I was at home, I would take my liberty both to go to meetings, and to visit friends. He smiled and said, if I would be resolute he could not help it; and so took his leave of me. By this I perceived that the plot was of my father's laying, to bring me under such an engagement as should tie me from going to meetings; and thereupon I expected I should have a new exercise from my father.

It was the constant manner of my father to have all the keys of the outer doors of his house (which were four, and those linked upon a chain) brought up into his chamber every night, and fetched out from thence in the morning; so that none could come in or go out in the night without his knowledge. I, knowing this, suspected that if I got not out before my father came down, I should be stopped from going out at all that day. Wherefore the passage from my chamber lying by his chamber door, I went down softly without my shoes, and as soon as the maid had opened the door, I went out, though too early, and walked towards the meeting at Meadle, four long miles off.

I expected to be talked with about it when I came home, but heard nothing of it, my father resolving to watch me better next time. This I was aware of; and therefore on the next first-day I got up early, went down softly, and hid myself in a back room before the maid was stirring. When she was up, she went into my father's chamber for the keys; but he bid her leave them till he was up, and he would bring them down himself; which he did, and tarried in the kitchen, through which he expected I would go. The manner was, that when the common doors were opened, the keys were hung upon a pin in the hall. While therefore my father stayed in the kitchen expecting my coming, I, stepping gently out of the room where I was, reached the keys, and, opening another door not often used, slipped out, and so got away.

I thought I had gone off undiscovered: but whether my father saw me through a window, or by what means he knew of my going, I know not; but I had gone but a little way before I saw him coming after me. The sight of him put me to a stand in my mind whether I

should go on or stop. Had it been in any other case than that of going to a meeting, I could not in any wise have gone a step farther. But I considered that the intent of my father's endeavoring to stop me was to hinder me from obeying the call of my Heavenly Father, and to stop me from going to worship him in the assembly of his people ; upon this I found it my duty to go on, and observing that my father gained ground upon me, I somewhat mended my pace. This he, observing, mended his pace also, and at length ran. Whereupon I ran also, and a fair course we had through a large meadow of his, which lay behind his house, and out of sight of the town. He was not, I suppose, then above fifty years of age, and being light of body and nimble of foot, he held me to it for a while. But afterwards slackening his pace to take breath, and observing that I had gotten ground of him, he turned back and went home ; and, as I afterwards understood, telling my sisters how I had served him, he said : " Nay, if he will take so much pains to go, let him go if he will." And from that time forward he never attempted to stop me, but left me to my liberty, to go when and whither I would ; yet kept me at the usual distance, avoiding the sight of me as much as he could, as not able to bear the sight of my hat on, nor willing to contend with me again about it.

Nor was it long after this before I was left not only to myself, but in a manner by myself. For the time appointed for the coronation of the king (which was the 23d of the fourth month, called April) drawing on, my father, taking my two sisters with him, went up to London some time before, that they might be there in readiness, and put themselves into a condition to see that so great a solemnity ; leaving nobody

in the house but myself and a couple of servants. And though this was intended only for a visit on that occasion, yet it proved the breaking of the family; for he bestowed both his daughters there in marriage, and took lodgings for himself, so that afterwards they never returned to settle at Crowell.

Being now at liberty, I walked over to Aylesbury, with some other Friends, to visit my dear friend Isaac Penington, who was still a prisoner there. With him I found dear John Whitehead, and between sixty and seventy more, being wellnigh all the men Friends that were then in the county of Bucks; many of them were taken out of their houses by armed men, and sent to prison, as I had been, for refusing to swear. Most of these were thrust into an old room behind the jail, which had anciently been a malt-house, but was now decayed, that it was scarce fit for a dog-house. And so open it lay, that the prisoners might have gone out at pleasure. But these were purposely put there, in confidence that they would not go out, that there might be room in the prison for others, of other professions and names, whom the jailer did not trust there.

While this imprisonment lasted, which was for some months, I went afterwards thither sometimes to visit my suffering brethren; and because it was a pretty long way (some eight or nine miles, too far to be walked forward and backward in one day), I sometimes stayed a day or two there, and lay in the malt-house among my friends, with whom I delighted to be.

After this imprisonment was over, I went sometimes to Isaac Penington's house at Chalfont, to visit that family, and the Friends thereabouts. There was then

a meeting, for the most part, twice a week in his house; but one first-day in four there was a more general meeting, which was thence called the Monthly Meeting, to which resorted most of the Friends of other adjacent meetings; and to that I usually went, and sometimes made some stay there.

Here I became acquainted with a Friend, of London, whose name was Richard Greenaway, by trade a tailor, a very honest man, and one who had received a gift for the ministry. He, having been formerly in other professions of religion, had then been acquainted with one John Ovy, of Watlington, in Oxfordshire, a man of some note among the professors there; and understanding, upon inquiry, that I knew him, he had some discourse with me about him. The result whereof was, that he, having an intention then shortly to visit some meetings of Friends in this county, and the adjoining parts of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, invited me to meet him, upon notice given, and to bear him company in that journey; and in the way bring him to John Ovy's house, with whom I was well acquainted, which I did.

This visit gave John Ovy an opportunity to inquire of me after Isaac Penington, whose writings (those which he had written before he came among Friends) he had read, and had a great esteem of; and he expressed a desire to see him, that he might have some discourse with him, if he knew how. Whereupon I told him, that if he would take the pains to go to his house, I would bear him company thither, introduce him, and engage he should have a kind reception. This pleased him much; and he embracing the offer, I undertook to give him notice of a suitable time, which (after I had gone this little journey with my

friend Richard Greenaway, and was returned) I did, making choice of the Monthly Meeting to go to.

We met by appointment at Stoken Church, with our staves in our hands, like a couple of pilgrims, intending to walk on foot, and, having taken some refreshment and rest at Wycombe, went on cheerfully in the afternoon, entertaining each other with grave and religious discourse, which made the walk the easier; and so reached thither in good time, on the seventh day of the week.

My friends received me in affectionate kindness, and my companion with courteous civility. The evening was spent in common but grave conversation; for it was not a proper season for private discourse, both as we were somewhat weary with our walk, and there were other companies of Friends come into the family, to be at the meeting next day. But in the morning I took John Ovy into a private walk, in a pleasant grove near the house, whither Isaac Penington came to us; and there, in discourse, both answered all his questions, objections, and doubts, and opened to him the principles of truth, to both his admiration and present satisfaction. Which done, we went in to take some refreshment before the meeting began.

Of those friends who were come over night, in order to be at the meeting, there were Isaac's brother, William Penington, a merchant of London, and with him a Friend whose name I have forgotten, a grocer, of Colchester, in Essex; and there was also our friend George Whitehead, whom I had not, that I remember, seen before.

The nation had been in a ferment ever since that mad action of the frantic Fifth-monarchy men, and was not yet settled; but storms, like thunder-showers,

flew here and there by coast, so that we could not promise ourselves any safety or quiet in our meetings. And though they had escaped disturbance for some little time before, yet so it fell out, that a party of horse were appointed to come and break up the meeting that day, though we knew nothing of it till we heard and saw them.

The meeting was scarcely fully gathered when they came. But we that were in the family, and many others, were settled in it in great peace and stillness, when on a sudden the prancing of the horses gave notice that a disturbance was at hand. We all sat still in our places, except my companion John Ovy, who sat next to me. But he being of a profession that approved Peter's advice to his Lord, "to save himself," soon took the alarm, and with the nimbleness of a stripling, cutting a caper over the form that stood before him, ran quickly out at a private door which he had before observed, which led through the parlor into the gardens, and from thence into an orchard, where he hid himself in a place so obscure, and withal so convenient for his intelligence by observation of what passed, that any one of the family could scarce have found a likelier.

By that time he was got into a burrow, came the soldiers in, being a party of the county troop, commanded by Matthew Archdale, of Wycombe. He behaved himself civilly, and said he was commanded to break up the meeting, and carry the men before a justice of the peace; but he said he would not take all; and thereupon began to pick and choose, chiefly as his eye guided him, for I suppose he knew very few. He took Isaac Penington and his brother, George Whitehead, and the Friend of Colchester, and me, with

three or four more of the county, who belonged to that meeting. He was not fond of the work, and that made him take no more. But he must take some, he said, and bid us provide to go with him before Sir William Boyer, of Denham, who was a justice of the peace. Isaac Penington, being but weakly, rode, but the rest of us walked thither, it being about four miles.

When we came there, the justice carried himself civilly to us all, courteously to Isaac Penington, as being a gentleman of his neighborhood ; and there was nothing charged against us, but that we were met together without word or deed. Yet this being contrary to a late proclamation, given forth upon the rising of the Fifth-monarchy men, whereby all dissenters' meetings were forbidden, the justice could do no less than take notice of us. Wherefore he examined all of us whom he did not personally know, asking our names, and the places of our respective habitations. But when he had them, and considered from what distant parts of the nation we came, he was amazed. For George Whitehead was of Westmoreland, in the North of England ; the grocer was of Essex ; I was of Oxfordshire ; and William Penington was of London. Hereupon he told us that our case looked ill, and he was sorry for it. "For how," said he, "can it be imagined that so many could jump altogether at one time and place, from such remote quarters and parts of the kingdom, if it was not by combination and appointment ?"

He was answered, that we were so far from coming thither by agreement or appointment, that none of us knew of the others' coming ; and, for the most of us, we had never seen one another before ; and that therefore he might impute it to chance, or, if he pleased, to Providence.

He urged upon us, that an insurrection had been lately made by armed men, who pretended to be more religious than others ; that that insurrection had been plotted and contrived in their meeting-house, where they assembled under color of worshipping God ; that in their meeting-house they hid their arms, and armed themselves, and out of their meeting-house issued forth in arms, and killed many ; so that the government could not be safe, unless such meetings were suppressed. We replied, we hoped he would distinguish and make a difference between the guilty and the innocent, and between those who were principled for fighting and those who were principled against it, which we were, and had been always known to be so. That our meetings were public, our doors standing open to all comers, of all ages, sexes, and persuasions ; men, women, and children, and those that were not of our religion, as well as those that were ; and that it was next to madness for people to plot in such meetings.

He told us we must find sureties for our good behavior, and to answer our contempt of the king's proclamation at the next general quarter sessions ; or else he must commit us. We told him, that knowing our innocence, and that we had not misbehaved ourselves, nor did meet in contempt of the king's authority, but purely in obedience to the Lord's requireing to worship him, which we held ourselves in duty bound to do, we could not consent to be bound, for that would imply guilt, which we were free from. "Then," said he, "I must commit you" ; and ordered his clerk to make a mittimus. And divers mittimuses were made, but none of them would hold ; for still, when they came to be read, we found such flaws in them as made him throw them aside and write more.

He had his eye often upon me, for I was a young man, and had at that time a black suit on. At length he bid me follow him, and went into a private room, and shut the door upon me. I knew not what he meant by this ; but I cried in spirit to the Lord, that he would be pleased to be a mouth and wisdom to me, and keep me from being entangled in any snare. He asked me many questions concerning my birth, my education, my acquaintance in Oxfordshire, particularly what men of note I knew there. To all which I gave him brief, but plain and true answers, naming several families of the best rank in that part of the country where I dwelt. He asked me how long I had been of this way, and how I came to be of it. Which when I had given him some account of, he began to persuade me to leave it and return to the right way, the church, as he called it. I desired him to spare his pains in that respect, and forbear any discourse of that kind, for that I was fully satisfied the way I was in was the right way, and hoped the Lord would so preserve me in it that nothing should be able to draw or drive me out of it. He seemed not pleased with that, and thereupon went out to the rest of the company, and I followed him, glad in my heart that I had escaped so well, and praising God for my deliverance.

When he had taken his seat again at the upper end of a fair hall, he told us he was not willing to take the utmost rigor of the law against us, but would be as favorable to us as he could. And therefore he would discharge, he said, Mr. Penington himself, because he was at home in his own house. And he would discharge Mr. Penington of London, because he came but as a relation to visit his brother. And he would discharge the grocer of Colchester, because he came to bear Mr.

Penington of London company, and to be acquainted with Mr. Isaac Penington, whom he had never seen before. And as for those others of us who were of this county, he would discharge them, for the present at least, because they being his neighbors, he could send for them when he would. "But as for you," said he to George Whitehead and me, "I can see no business you had there, and therefore I intend to hold you to it, either to give bail, or go to jail."

We told him we could not give bail. "Then," said he, "you must go to jail"; and thereupon he began to write our mittimus, which puzzled him again. For he had discharged so many that he was at a loss what to lay as the ground of our commitment, whose case differed nothing in reality from theirs whom he had discharged. At length, having made divers draughts, which still George Whitehead showed him the defects of, he seemed to be weary of us; and rising up said unto us: "I consider that it is grown late in the day, so that the officer cannot carry you to Aylesbury to-night, and I suppose you will be willing to go back with Mr. Penington; therefore, if you will be forthcoming at his house to-morrow morning, I will dismiss you for the present, and you shall hear from me again to-morrow." We told him we did intend, if he did not otherwise dispose of us, to spend that night with our friend Isaac Penington, and would, if the Lord gave us leave, be there in the morning, ready to answer his inquiries. Whereupon he dismissed us all, willing, as we thought, to be rid of us; for he seemed not to be of an ill-temper, nor desirous to put us to trouble if he could help it.

Back then we went to Isaac Penington's. But when we were come thither, O the work we had

with poor John Ovy! He was so dejected in mind, so covered with shame and confusion of face for his cowardliness, that we had enough to do to pacify him towards himself. The place he had found out to shelter himself in was so commodiously contrived that undiscovered he could discern when the soldiers went off with us, and understand when the bustle was over and the coast clear. Whereupon he adventured to peep out of his hole, and in a while drew near by degrees to the house again; and finding all things quiet and still, he adventured to step within the doors, and found the Friends who were left behind peaceably settled in the meeting again.

The sight of this smote him, and made him sit down among them. And after the meeting was ended, and the Friends departed to their several homes, addressing himself to Mary Penington, as the mistress of the house, he could not enough magnify the bravery and courage of the Friends, nor sufficiently debase himself. He told how long he had been a professor, what pains he had taken, what hazards he had run, in his youthful days, to get to meetings; how, when the ways were forelaid, and passages stopped, he swam through rivers to reach a meeting: "and now," said he, "that I am grown old in the profession of religion, and have long been an instructor and encourager of others, that I should thus shamefully fall short myself is matter of shame and sorrow to me." Thus he bewailed himself to her. And when we came back, he renewed his complaints of himself to us, with high aggravations of his own cowardice; which gave occasion to some of the friends tenderly to represent to him the difference between profession and possession, form and power.

He was glad, he said, on our behalf, that we came off so well, and escaped imprisonment. But when he understood that George Whitehead and I were liable to an after-reckoning next morning, he was troubled, and wished the morning was come and gone, that we might be gone with it.

We spent the evening in grave conversation, and in religious discourses, attributing the deliverance we hitherto had to the Lord. And the next morning, when we were up and had eaten, we tarried some time to see what the justice would do further with us, and to discharge our agreement to him; the rest of the Friends, who were before fully discharged, tarrying also with us to see the event. And when we had stayed so long that on all hands it was concluded we might safely go, George Whitehead and I left a few words in writing to be sent to the justice, if he sent after us, importing that we had tarried till such an hour, and, not hearing from him, did now hold ourselves free to depart; yet, so as that if he should have occasion to send for us again, upon notice thereof we would return.

This done, we took our leave of the family, and one of another; they who were for London taking horse, and I and my companion, setting forth on foot for Oxfordshire, went to Wycombe, where we made a short stay to rest and refresh ourselves, and from thence reached our respective homes that night.

After I had spent some time at home, where, as I had no restraint, so, my sisters being gone, I had now no society, I walked up to Chalfont again and spent a few days with my friends there.

As soon as I came in I was told that my father had been there that day to see Isaac Penington and his

wife; but they being abroad at a meeting, he returned to his inn in the town, where he intended to lodge that night. After supper Mary Penington told me she had a mind to go and see him at his inn (the woman of the house being a friend of ours), and I went with her. He seemed somewhat surprised to see me there, because he thought I had been at home at his house; but he took no notice of my hat, at least showed no offence at it; for, as I afterwards understood, he had now an intention to sell his estate, and thought he should need my concurrence therein, which made him now hold it necessary to admit me again into some degree of favor. After we had tarried some little time with him, she rising up to be gone, he waited on her home, and, having spent about an hour with us in the family, I waited on him back to his inn. On the way he invited me to come up to London to see my sisters, the younger of whom was then newly married; and directed me where to find them, and also gave me money to defray my charges. Accordingly I went; yet stayed not long there, but returned to my friend Isaac Penington's, where I made a little stay, and from thence went back to Crowell.

When I was ready to set forth, my friend Isaac Penington was so kind as to send a servant, with a couple of horses, to carry me as far as I thought fit to ride, and to bring the horses back. I, intending to go no farther that day than to Wycombe, rode no farther than to Beaconsfield town's end, having then but five miles to walk. But here a new exercise befell me, the manner of which was thus:—

Before I had walked to the middle of the town, I was stopped and taken up by the watch. I asked the watchman what authority he had to stop me travel-

ling peaceably on the highway: he told me he would show me his authority; and in order thereunto, had me into a house hard by, where dwelt a scrivener, whose name was Pepys. To him he gave the order which he had received from the constable, which directed him to take up all rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars. I asked him for which of these he stopped me, but he could not answer me. I thereupon informed him what a rogue in law is, viz. one who for some notorious offence was burnt on the shoulder, and I told them they might search me if they pleased, and see if I was so branded. A vagabond, I told them, was one that had no dwelling-house, nor certain place of abode; but I had, and was going to it, and I told them where it was. And for a beggar, I bid them bring any one that could say I had begged, or asked relief.

This stopped the fellow's mouth, yet he would not let me go; but, being both weak-headed and strong-willed, he left me there with the scrivener, and went out to seek the constable, and, having found him, brought him thither. He was a young man, by trade a tanner, somewhat better mannered than his wardsman, but not of much better judgment. He took me with him to his house; and having settled me there, went out to take advice, as I supposed, what to do with me, leaving nobody in the house to guard me but his wife, who had a young child in her arms.

She inquired of me upon what account I was taken up, and, seeming to have some pity for me, endeavored to persuade me not to stay, but to go my way, offering to show me a back way from their house which would bring me into the road again beyond the town, so that none of the town should see me, or know what was become of me. But I told her I could not do so.

Then having sat awhile in a muse, she asked me if there was not a place of Scripture which said Peter was at a tanner's house. I told her there was such a Scripture, and directed her where to find it. After some time she laid her child to sleep in a cradle, and stepped out on a sudden, but came not in again in a pretty while.

I was uneasy that I was left alone in the house, fearing lest if anything should be missing I might be suspected to have taken it; yet I durst not go out to stand in the street, lest it should be thought I intended to slip away. But besides that, I soon found work to employ myself in; for the child, quickly waking, fell to crying, and I was fain to rock the cradle in my own defence, that I might not be annoyed with a noise to me not more unpleasant than unusual. At length the woman came in again, and, finding me nursing the child, gave me many thanks, and seemed well pleased with my company.

When night came on, the constable himself came in again, and told me some of the chief of the town were met together, to consider what was fit to do with me, and that I must go with him to them. I went, and he brought me to a little nasty hut, which they called a town-house, adjoining to their market-house, in which dwelt a poor old woman, whom they called Mother Grime, where also the watch used by turns to come in and warn themselves in the night. When I came in among them, they looked (some of them) somewhat sourly on me, and asked me some impertinent questions, to which I gave them suitable answers. Then they consulted one with another how they should dispose of me that night, till they could have me before some justice of peace to be examined.

Some proposed that I should be had to some inn, or other public house, and a guard set on me there. He that started this was probably an inn-keeper, and consulted his own interest. Others objected against this, that it would bring a charge on the town. To avoid which, they were for having the watch take charge of me, and keep me walking about the streets with them till morning. Most voices seemed to go this way; till a third wished them to consider whether they could answer the doing of that, and the law would bear them out in it: and this put them to a stand. I heard all their debates, but let them alone, and kept my mind to the Lord.

While they thus bandied the matter to and fro, one of the company asked the rest if any of them knew who this young man was, and whither he was going: whereupon the constable (to whom I had given both my name and the name of the town where I dwelt) told them my name was Ellwood, and that I lived at a town called Crowell, in Oxfordshire. Old Mother Grime, sitting by and hearing this, clapped her hand on her knee, and cried out: "I know Mr. Ellwood of Crowell very well; for when I was a maid I lived with his grandfather there, when he was a young man." And thereupon she gave them such an account of my father as made them look more regardfully on me; and so Mother Grime's testimony turned the scale, and took me off from walking the rounds with the watch that night.

The constable hereupon bid them take no farther care, I should lie at his house that night; and accordingly took me home with him, where I had as good *accommodation* as the house did afford. Before I went to bed, he told me that there was to be a visitation, or

spiritual court (as he called it) holden next day at Amersham, about four miles from Beaconsfield, and that I was to be carried thither.

This was a new thing to me, and it brought a fresh exercise upon my mind. But being given up, in the will of God, to suffer what he should permit to be laid on me, I endeavored to keep my mind quiet and still. In the morning, as soon as I was up, my spirit was exercised towards the Lord, in strong cries to him, that he would stand by me, and preserve me, and not suffer me to be taken in the snare of the wicked. While I was thus crying to the Lord, the other constable came, and I was called down. This was a budge fellow, and talked high. He was a shoemaker by trade, and his name was Clark. He threatened me with the spiritual court. But when he saw I did not regard it, he stopped, and left the matter to his partner, who pretended more kindness for me, and therefore went about to persuade Clark to let me go out at the back door, and so slip away.

The plot, I suppose, was so laid that Clark should seem averse, but at length yield, which he did; but would have me take it for a favor. But I was so far from taking it so, that I would not take it at all, but told them plainly, that as I came in at the fore door, so I would go out at the fore door. When, therefore, they saw they could not bow me to their will, they brought me out at the fore door into the street, and wished me a good journey. Yet before I went, calling for the woman of the house, I paid her for my supper and lodging, for I had now got a little money in my pocket again.

After this I got home, as I thought very well, but I had not been long at home before an illness seized on

me which proved to be the small-pox. Of which so soon as Friends had notice, I had a nurse sent me; and in a while Isaac Penington and his wife's daughter, Gulielma Maria Springett, to whom I had been a playfellow in our infancy, came to visit me, bringing with them our dear friend Edward Burrough, by whose ministry I was called to the knowledge of the truth.

It pleased the Lord to deal favorably with me in this illness, both inwardly and outwardly. For his supporting presence was with me, which kept my spirit near unto him; and though the distemper was strong upon me, yet I was preserved through it, and my countenance was not much altered by it. But after I was got up again, and while I kept my chamber, wanting some employment for entertainment's sake, to spend the time with, and there being at hand a pretty good library of books, amongst which were the works of Augustine, and others of those ancient writers, who were by many called the fathers, I betook myself to reading. And these books being printed in the old black letter, with abbreviations of the words, difficult to be read, I spent too much time therein, and thereby much impaired my sight, which was not strong before, and was now weaker than usual by reason of the illness I had so newly had, which proved an injury to me afterwards; for which reason I here mention it.

After I was well enough to go abroad, with respect to my own health, and the safety of others, I went up, in the beginning of the twelfth month, 1661, to my friend Isaac Penington's, at Chalfont, and abode there some time, for the airing myself more fully, that I might be more fit for conversation.

I mentioned before, that when I was a boy I had

made some good progress in learning, and lost it all again before I came to be a man; nor was I rightly sensible of my loss therein until I came amongst the Quakers. But then I both saw my loss and lamented it; and applied myself with the utmost diligence, at all leisure times, to recover it; so false I found that charge to be which in those times was cast as a reproach upon the Quakers, that they despised and decried all human learning, because they denied it to be essentially necessary to a gospel ministry, which was one of the controversies of those times.

But though I toiled hard, and spared no pains to regain what once I had been master of, yet I found it a matter of so great difficulty, that I was ready to say, as the noble eunuch to Philip in another case, "How can I, unless I had some man to guide me?" This I had formerly complained of to my especial friend Isaac Penington, but now more earnestly, which put him upon considering and contriving a means for my assistance. He had an intimate acquaintance with Dr. Paget, a physician of note in London, and he with John Milton, a gentleman of great note for learning throughout the learned world, for the accurate pieces he had written on various subjects and occasions. This person, having filled a public station in the former times, lived now a private and retired life in London, and having wholly lost his sight, kept always a man to read to him, who usually was the son of some gentleman of his acquaintance, whom in kindness he took to improve in his learning.

Thus, by the mediation of my friend Isaac Penington with Dr. Paget, and Dr. Paget with John Milton, was I admitted to come to him, not as a servant to him (which at that time he needed not), nor to be in

the house with him, but only to have the liberty of coming to his house at certain hours when I would, and to read to him what books he should appoint me, which was all the favor I desired. But this being a matter which would require some time to bring it about, I, in the mean while, returned to my father's house in Oxfordshire.

I had before received direction, by letters from my eldest sister, written by my father's command, to put off what cattle he had left about his house, and to discharge his servants; which I had done at the time called Michaelmas before. So that all the winter, when I was at home, I lived like a hermit all alone, having a pretty large house and nobody in it but myself, at nights especially; but an elderly woman, whose father had been an old servant to the family, came every morning and made my bed, and did what else I had occasion for her to do, till I fell ill of the small-pox, and then I had her with me and the nurse. But now, understanding by letter from my sister, that my father did not intend to return to settle there, I made off those provisions which were in the house, that they might not be spoiled when I was gone; and because they were what I should have spent if I had tarried there, I took the money made of them to myself for my support at London, if the project succeeded for my going thither.

This done, I committed the care of the house to a tenant of my father's who lived in the town, and, taking my leave of Crowell, went up to my sure friend, Isaac Penington, again; where, understanding that the mediation used for my admittance to John Milton had succeeded so well that I might come when I would, I hastened to London, and in the first place went to wait

upon him. He received me courteously, as well for the sake of Dr. Paget, who introduced me, as of Isaac Penington, who recommended me; to both of whom he bore a good respect. And having inquired divers things of me, with respect to my former progression in learning, he dismissed me, to provide myself such accommodations as might be most suitable for my future studies. I went therefore and took myself a lodging as near to his house, which was then in Jewin Street, as conveniently I could; and from thenceforward went every day in the afternoon, except on the first days of the week, and sitting by him in his dining-room, read to him in such books in the Latin tongue as he pleased to hear me read.

At my first sitting to read to him, observing that I used the English pronunciation, he told me if I would have the benefit of the Latin tongue, not only to read and understand Latin authors, but to converse with foreigners, either abroad or at home, I must learn the foreign pronunciation. To this I consenting, he instructed me how to sound the vowels; so different from the common pronunciation used by the English, who speak *Anglice* their Latin, that (with some few other variations in sounding some consonants in particular cases, as *c* before *e* or *i*, like *ch*; *sc* before *i*, like *sh*, etc.) the Latin thus spoken seemed as different from that which was delivered as the English generally speak it, as if it were another language.

I had before, during my retired life at my father's, by unwearied diligence and industry, so far recovered the rules of grammar, in which I had once been very ready, that I could both read a Latin author, and after a sort, hammer out his meaning. But this change of pronunciation proved a new difficulty to me. It was

now harder to me to read, than it was before to understand when read. But

“Labor omnia vincit
Improbis.”

Incessant pains
The end obtains.

And so did I. Which made my reading the more acceptable to my master. He, on the other hand, perceiving with what earnest desire I pursued learning, gave me not only all the encouragement, but all the help he could. For, having a curious ear, he understood by my tone when I understood what I read and when I did not; and accordingly would stop me, examine me, and open the most difficult passages to me.

Thus went I on, for about six weeks' time, reading to him in the afternoons; and, exercising myself with my own books in my chamber in the forenoons, I was sensible of an improvement. But alas! I had fixed my studies in a wrong place. London and I could never agree for health; my lungs, I suppose, were too tender to bear the sulphurous air of that city, so that I soon began to droop; and in less than two months' time I was fain to leave both my studies and the city, and return into the country to preserve life; and much ado I had to get thither.

I chose to go down to Wycombe, and to John Raunce's house there; both as he was a physician, and his wife an honest, hearty, discreet, and grave matron, whom I had a very good esteem of, and who I knew had a good regard for me. There I lay ill a considerable time, and to that degree of weakness, that scarcely any who saw me expected my life. But the

Lord was both gracious to me in my illness, and was pleased to raise me up again, that I might serve him in my generation.

As soon as I had recovered so much strength as to be fit to travel, I obtained of my father (who was then at his house in Crowell, to dispose of some things he had there, and who in my illness had come to see me) so much money as would clear all charges in the house for both physic, food, and attendance; and, having fully discharged all, I took leave of my friends in that family and in the town, and returned to my studies at London. I was very kindly received by my master, who had conceived so good an opinion of me that my conversation I found was acceptable to him, and he seemed heartily glad of my recovery and return; and into our old method of study we fell again, I reading to him, and he explaining to me as occasion required.

But, as if learning had been a forbidden fruit to me, scarce was I well settled in my work before I met with another diversion, which turned me quite out of my work. For a sudden storm arising, from I know not what surmise of a plot, and thereby danger to the government; and the meetings of dissenters (such I mean as could be found, which perhaps were not many besides the Quakers) were broken up throughout the city, and the prisons mostly filled with our friends.

I was that morning, which was the 26th day of the eighth month, 1662, at the meeting at the Bull and Mouth, by Aldersgate, when on a sudden a party of soldiers of the trained bands of the city rushed in, with noise and clamor, being led by one who was called Major Rosewell, an apothecary, if I misremember not, and at that time under the ill name of a Papist. As

soon as he was come within the room, having a file or two of musketeers at his heels, he commanded his men to present their muskets at us, which they did; with intent, I suppose, to strike a terror into the people. Then he made a proclamation, that all who were not Quakers might depart if they would.

It so happened that a young man, an apprentice in London, whose name was — Dove, the son of Dr. Dove, of Chinner, near Crowell, in Oxfordshire, came that day, in curiosity, to see the meeting, and, coming early, and finding me there, whom he knew, came and sat down by me. As soon as he heard the noise of soldiers he was much startled, and asked me softly if I would not shift for myself, and try to get out. I told him no; I was in my place, and was willing to suffer if it was my lot. When he found the notice given that they who were not Quakers might depart, he solicited me again to be gone. I told him I could not do so, for that would be to renounce my profession, which I would by no means do. But as for him, who was not one of us, he might do as he pleased. Whereupon, wishing me well, he turned away, and with cap in hand went out. And truly I was glad he was gone, for his master was a rigid Presbyterian, who, in all likelihood, would have led him a wretched life had he been taken and imprisoned among the Quakers.

The soldiers came so early that the meeting was not fully gathered when they came; and, when the mixed company were gone out, we were so few, and sat so thin in that large room, that they might take a clear view of us all, and single us out as they pleased. He that commanded the party gave us first a general charge to come out of the room. But we, who came thither at God's requirings, to worship him, like that

good man of old, who said, "We ought to obey God rather than men" (Acts v. 29), stirred not, but kept our places. Whereupon he sent some of his soldiers among us, with command to drag or drive us out, which they did roughly enough.

When we came out into the street, we were received there by other soldiers, who, with their pikes holden lengthways from one another, encompassed us round as sheep in a pound; and there we stood a pretty time, while they were picking up more to add to our number. In this work none seemed so eager and active as their leader, Major Rosewell. Which I observing, stepped boldly to him, as he was passing by me, and asked him if he intended a massacre, for of that, in those times, there was a great apprehension and talk. The suddenness of the question, from such a young man especially, somewhat startled him; but recollecting himself, he answered, "No; but I intend to have you all hanged by the wholesome laws of the land."

When he had gotten as many as he could, or thought fit, which were in number thirty-two, whereof two were caught up in the street, who had not been at the meeting, he ordered the pikes to be opened before us; and giving the word to march, went himself at the head of us, the soldiers with their pikes making a lane to keep us from scattering.

He led us up Martin's, and so turned down to Newgate, where I expected he would lodge us. But, to my disappointment, he went on through Newgate, and, turning through the Old Bailey, brought us into Fleet Street. I was then wholly at a loss to conjecture whither he would lead us, unless it were to Whitehall, for I knew nothing then of Old Bridewell; but on a sudden he gave a short turn, and brought us before the

gate of that prison, where, knocking, the wicket was forthwith opened, and the master, with his porter, ready to receive us.

One of those two who were picked up in the street being near me, and telling me his case, I stepped to the major, and told him that this man was not at the meeting, but was taken up in the street; and showed him how hard and unjust a thing it would be to put him into prison. I had not pleased him before in the question I had put to him about a massacre; and that, I suppose, made this solicitation less acceptable to him from me than it might have been from some other. For, looking sternly on me, he said, "Who are you, that take so much upon you? Seeing you are so busy, you shall be the first man that shall go into Bridewell." And, taking me by the shoulders, he thrust me in.

As soon as I was in, the porter, pointing with his finger, directed me to a fair pair of stairs on the farther side of a large court, and bid me go up those stairs, and go on till I could go no farther. Accordingly I went up the stairs; the first flight whereof brought me to a fair chapel on my left hand, which I could look into through the iron grates, but could not have gone into if I would. I knew that was not a place for me; wherefore, following my direction, and the winding of the stairs, I went up a story higher, which brought me into a room, which I soon perceived to be a court-room, or place of judicature. After I had stood awhile there, and taken a view of it, observing a door on the farther side, I went to it, and opened it with intention to go in, but I quickly drew back, being almost affrighted at the dismalness of the place. For besides that the walls quite round were laid all over, from top to bottoin, in black, there stood in the

middle of it a great whipping-post, which was all the furniture it had.

In one of these two rooms judgment was given, and in the other it was executed, on those ill people who for their lewdness were sent to this prison, and there sentenced to be whipped. Which was so contrived, that the court might not only hear, but see, if they pleased, their sentence executed. A sight so unexpected, and withal so unpleasing, gave me no encouragement either to rest, or indeed to enter at all there; till looking earnestly I espied, on the opposite side, a door which, giving me hopes of a farther progress, I adventured to step hastily to it, and opened it.

This let me into one of the fairest rooms that, so far as I remember, I was ever in, and no wonder; for though it was now put to this mean use, it had, for many ages past, been the royal seat or palace of the kings of England, until Cardinal Wolsey built Whitehall, and offered it as a peace-offering to King Henry the Eighth, who until that time had kept his court in this house, and had this, as the people in the house reported, for his dining-room, by which name it then went. This room in length (for I lived long enough in it to have time to measure it) was threescore feet, and had breadth proportionable to it. In it, on the front side, were very large bay windows, in which stood a large table. It had other very large tables in it, with benches round; and at that time the floor was covered with rushes, against some solemn festival, which I heard it was bespoke for.

Here was my *nil ultra*, and here I found I might set up my pillar; for although there was a door out of it to a back pair of stairs which led to it, yet that was kept locked. So that finding I had now followed my

keeper's direction to the utmost point, beyond which I could not go, I sat down and considered that rhetorical saying, that "the way to heaven lay by the gate of hell"; the black room, through which I passed into this, bearing some resemblance to the latter, as this, comparatively and by way of allusion, might in some sort be thought to bear to the former. But I was quickly put out of these thoughts by the flocking in of the other Friends, my fellow-prisoners; amongst whom yet, when all were come together, there was but one whom I knew so much as by face, and with him I had no acquaintance. For I having been but a little while in the city, and in that time kept close to my studies, I was by that means known to very few.

Soon after we were all gotten together, came up the master of the house after us, and demanded our names, which we might reasonably have refused to give till we had been legally convened before some civil magistrate, who had power to examine us and demand our names; but we who were neither guileful nor wilful, simply gave him our names, which he took down in writing.

It was, as I hinted before, a general storm which fell that day, but it lighted most, and most heavy, upon our meetings; so that most of our men Friends were made prisoners, and the prisons generally filled. And great work had the women to run about from prison to prison to find their husbands, their fathers, their brothers, or their servants; for accordingly as they had disposed themselves to several meetings, so were they dispersed to several prisons. And no less care and pains had they, when they had found them, to furnish them with provisions, and other necessary accommodations.

But an excellent order, even in those early days, was

practised among the Friends of that city, by which there were certain Friends of either sex appointed to have the oversight of the prisons in every quarter, and to take care of all Friends, the poor especially, that should be committed thither. This prison of Bridewell was under the care of two honest, grave, discreet, and motherly women, whose names were Anne Merrick (afterwards Vivers) and Anne Travers, both widows. They, as soon as they understood that there were Friends brought into that prison, provided some hot victuals, meat and broth, for the weather was cold; and, ordering their servants to bring it them, with bread, cheese, and beer, came themselves also with it, and, having placed it on a table, gave notice to us that it was provided for all those that had not others to provide for them, or were not able to provide for themselves. And there wanted not among us a competent number of such guests.

As for my part, though I had lived as frugally as possibly I could, that I might draw out the thread of my little stock to the utmost length, yet had I, by this time, reduced it to tenpence, which was all the money I had about me, or anywhere else at my command. This was but a small estate to enter upon an imprisonment with, yet was I not at all discouraged at it, nor had I a murmuring thought. I had known what it was moderately to abound, and if I should now come to suffer want, I knew I ought to be content; and through the grace of God I was so. I had lived by Providence before, when for a long time I had no money at all; and I had always found the Lord a good provider. I made no doubt, therefore, that he who set the ravens to feed Elijah, and who clothes the lilies, would find some means to sustain me with needful

food and raiment ; and I had learned by experience the truth of that saying, *Natura paucis contenta*, i. e. Nature is content with few things or little.

Although the sight and smell of hot food was sufficiently enticing to my empty stomach, for I had eaten little that morning, and was hungry, yet, considering the terms of the invitation, I questioned whether I was included in it ; and after some reasonings, at length concluded that, while I had tenpence in my pocket, I should be an injurious intruder to that mess, which was provided for such as perhaps had not twopence in theirs. Being come to this resolution, I withdrew as far from the table as I could, and sat down in a quiet retirement of mind till the repast was over, which was not long, for there were hands enough at it to make light work of it. When evening came, the porter came up the back stairs, and, opening the door, told us if we desired to have anything that was to be had in the house, he would bring it us ; for there was in the house a chandler's shop, at which beer, bread, butter, cheese, eggs, and bacon might be had for money. Upon which many went to him and spake for what of these things they had a mind to, giving him money to pay for them. Among the rest went I, and, intending to spin out my tenpence as far as I could, desired him to bring me a penny loaf only. When he returned, we all resorted to him to receive our several provisions, which he delivered ; and when he came to me, he told me he could not get a penny loaf, but he had brought me two halfpenny loaves. This suited me better ; wherefore, returning to my place again, I sat down and eat up one of my loaves, reserving the other for the next day. This was to me both dinner and supper ; and so well satisfied I was with it, that I

could willingly then have gone to bed, if I had had one to go to ; but that was not to be expected there, nor had any one any bedding brought in that night. Some of the company had been so considerate as to send for a pound of candles, that we might not sit all night in the dark ; and having lighted divers of them, and placed them in several parts of that large room, we kept walking to keep us warm.

After I had warmed myself pretty thoroughly, and the evening was pretty far spent, I bethought myself of a lodging ; and cast my eye on the table which stood in the bay window, the frame whereof looked, I thought, somewhat like a bedstead. Wherefore, willing to make sure of that, I gathered up a good armful of the rushes, wherewith the floor was covered, and spreading them under that table, crept in upon them in my clothes, and keeping on my hat, laid my head upon one end of the table's frame, instead of a bolster. My example was followed by the rest, who, gathering up rushes as I had done, made themselves beds in other parts of the room, and so to rest we went. I, having a quiet easy mind, was soon asleep, and slept till about the middle of the night ; and then waking, finding my legs and feet very cold, I crept out of my cabin, and began to walk about apace. This waked and raised all the rest, who, finding themselves cold as well as I, got up and walked about with me, till we had pretty well warmed ourselves, and then we all lay down again, and rested till morning.

Next day all they who had families, or belonged to families, had bedding brought in of one sort or other, which they disposed at the ends and sides of the room, leaving the middle void to walk in. But I, who had nobody to look after me, kept to my rushy pallet un-

der the table for four nights together, in which time I did not put off my clothes; yet, through the merciful goodness of God unto me, I rested and slept well, and enjoyed health, without taking cold. In this time divers of our company, through the solicitations of some of their relations or acquaintance to Sir Richard Brown (who was at that time a great master of misrule in the city, and over Bridewell more especially), were released; and among these one William Mucklow, who lay in a hammock. He, having observed that I only was unprovided of lodging, came very courteously to me, and kindly offered me the use of his hammock while I should continue a prisoner. This was a providential accommodation to me, which I received thankfully, both from the Lord and from him; and from thenceforth I thought I lay as well as ever I had done in my life.

Amongst those that remained, there were several young men who cast themselves into a club, and laying down every one an equal proportion of money, put it into the hand of our friend Anne Travers, desiring her to lay it out for them in provisions, and send them in every day a mess of hot meat; and they kindly invited me to come into their club with them. These saw my person, and judged of me by that, but they saw not my purse, nor understood the lightness of my pocket. But I, who alone understood my own condition, knew I must sit down with lower commons. Wherefore, not giving them the true reason, I, as fairly as I could, excused myself from entering at present into their mess, and went on, as before, to eat by myself, and that very sparingly, as my stock would bear. And before my tenpence was quite spent, Providence, on whom I relied, sent me a fresh supply.

For William Penington, a brother of Isaac Penington's, a friend and merchant in London, at whose house, before I came to live in the city, I was wont to lodge, having been at his brother's that day upon a visit, escaped this storm, and so was at liberty; and understanding when he came back what had been done, bethought himself of me, and upon inquiry hearing where I was, came in love to see me. He, in discourse amongst other things, asked me how it was with me as to money, and how well I was furnished; I told him I could not boast of much, and yet I could not say I had none; though what I then had was indeed next to none. Whereupon he put twenty shillings into my hand, and desired me to accept of that for the present. I saw a Divine hand in thus opening his heart and hand in this manner to me. And though I would willingly have been excused from taking so much, and would have returned one half of it, yet, he pressing it all upon me, I received it with a thankful acknowledgment, as a token of love from the Lord and from him.

On the seventh day he went down again, as he usually did, to his brother's house at Chalfont; and in discourse gave them an account of my imprisonment. Whereupon, at his return on the second day of the week following, my affectionate friend Mary Penington sent me by him forty shillings, which he soon after brought me; out of which I would have repaid him the twenty shillings he had so kindly furnished me with; but he would not admit it, telling me I might have occasion for that and more before I got my liberty. Not many days after this I received twenty shillings from my father, who being then at his house in Oxfordshire, and by letter from my sister

understanding that I was a prisoner in Bridewell, sent this money to me for my support there ; and withal a letter to my sister, for her to deliver to one called Mr. Wray, who lived near Bridewell, and was a servant to Sir Richard Brown, in some wharf of his, requesting him to intercede with his master, who was one of the governors of Bridewell, for my deliverance. But that letter coming to my hands, I suppressed it, and have it yet by me.

Now was my pocket, from the lowest ebb, risen to a full tide. I was at the brink of want, next door to nothing, yet my confidence did not fail nor my faith stagger ; and now on a sudden I had plentiful supplies, shower upon shower, so that I abounded, yet was not lifted up, but in humility could say, " This is the Lord's doing." And, without defrauding any of the instruments of the acknowledgments due unto them, mine eye looked over and beyond them to the Lord, who I saw was the author thereof, and prime agent therein, and with a thankful heart I returned thanksgivings and praises to him. And this great goodness of the Lord to me I thus record to the end that all into whose hands this may come may be encouraged to trust in the Lord, whose mercy is over all his works, and who is indeed a God near at hand to help in the needful time. Now I durst venture myself into the club, to which I had been invited, and accordingly (having by this time gained an acquaintance with them) took an opportunity to cast myself among them ; and thenceforward, so long as we continued prisoners there together, I was one of their mess.

And now the chief thing I wanted was employment, which scarcely any wanted but myself ; for the rest of my company were generally tradesmen, of such trades

as could set themselves on work. Of these divers were tailors, some masters, some journeymen, and with these I most inclined to settle. But because I was too much a novice in their art to be trusted with their work lest I should spoil the garment, I got work from a hosier in Cheap-side; which was to make night-waistcoats, of red and yellow flannel, for women and children. And with this I entered myself among the tailors, sitting cross-legged as they did, and so spent those leisure hours with innocency and pleasure, which want of business would have made tedious. And indeed that was, in a manner, the only advantage I had by it; for my master, though a very wealthy man, and one who professed not only friendship but particular kindness to me, dealt, I thought, but hardly with me. For though he knew not what I had to subsist by, he never offered me a penny for my work till I had done working for him, and went, after I was released, to give him a visit; and then he would not reckon with me neither, because, as he smilingly said, he would not let me so far into his trade as to acquaint me with the prices of the work, but would be sure to give me enough. And thereupon he gave me one crown piece, and no more; though I had wrought long for him, and made him many dozens of waistcoats, and bought the thread myself, which I thought was very poor pay. But, as Providence had ordered it, I wanted the work more than the wages, and therefore took what he gave me without complaining.

About this time, while we were prisoners in our fair chamber, a Friend was brought and put in among us, who had been sent thither by Richard Brown, to beat hemp; whose case was thus: He was a very poor man, who lived by mending shoes; and on a seventh-

day night late, a carman, or some other such laboring man, brought him a pair of shoes to mend, desiring him to mend them that night, that he might have them in the morning, for he had no others to wear. The poor man sat up at work upon them till after midnight, and then finding he could not finish them, he went to bed, intending to do the rest in the morning. Accordingly he got up betimes, and though he wrought as privately as he could in his chamber, that he might avoid giving offence to any, yet could he not do it so privately but that an ill-natured neighbor perceived it, who went and informed against him for working on the Sunday. Whereupon he was had before Richard Brown, who committed him to Bridewell for a certain time, to be kept to hard labor in beating hemp, which is labor hard enough.

It so fell out, that at the same time were committed thither (for what cause I do not now remember) two lusty young men, who were called Baptists, to be kept also at the same labor. The Friend was a poor little man, of a low condition and mean appearance; whereas these two Baptists were topping blades, that looked high, and spake big. They scorned to beat hemp, and made a pish at the whipping-post; but when they had once felt the smart of it, they soon cried *peccavi*, and, submitting to the punishment, set their tender hands to the beetles. The Friend, on the other hand, acting upon a principle, as knowing he had done no evil for which he should undergo that punishment, refused to work, and for refusing was cruelly whipped, which he bore with wonderful constancy and resolution of mind.

The manner of whipping there is to strip the party to the skin from the waist upwards, and having

fastened him to the whipping-post, so that he could neither resist nor shun the strokes, to lash the body with long, but slender twigs of holly, which will bend almost like thongs, and lap round the body; and these, having little knots upon them, tear the skin and flesh, and give extreme pain. With these rods they tormented the Friend most barbarously; and the more for that having mastered the two braving Baptists, they disdained to be mastered by this poor Quaker. Yet were they fain at last to yield, when they saw their utmost severity could not make him yield. And then, not willing to be troubled longer with him, they turned him up among us.

When we had inquired of him how it was with him, and he had given us a brief account of both his cause and usage, it came in my mind that I had in my box (which I had sent for from my lodging, to keep some few books and other necessities in) a little gallipot with Lucatellu's balsam in it. Wherefore, causing a good fire to be made, and setting the Friend within a blanket before the fire, we stripped him to the waist, as if he had been to be whipped again; and found his skin so cut and torn with the knotty holly rods, both back, side, arm, and breast, that it was a dismal sight to look upon. Then melting some of the balsam, I, with a feather, anointed all the sores, and, putting on a softer cloth between his skin and his shirt, helped him on with his clothes again. This dressing gave him much ease, and I continued it till he was well. And because he was a very poor man, we took him into our mess, contriving that there should always be enough for him as well as for ourselves. Thus he lived with us until the time he was committed for was expired, and then he was released.

But we were still continued prisoners by an arbitrary power, not being committed by the civil authority, nor having seen the face of any civil magistrate, from the day we were thrust in here by soldiers, which was the 26th day of the eighth month, to the 19th of the tenth month following. On that day we were had to the sessions at the Old Bailey. But not being called there, we were brought back to Bridewell, and continued there to the 29th of the same month, and then we were carried to the sessions again.

I expected I should have been called the first because my name was first taken down ; but it proved otherwise, so that I was one of the last that was called, which gave me the advantage of hearing the pleas of the other prisoners, and discovering the temper of the court. The prisoners complained of the illegality of their imprisonment, and desired to know what they had lain so long in prison for. The court regarded nothing of that, and did not stick to tell them so. "For," said the recorder to them, "if you think you have been wrongfully imprisoned, you have your remedy at law, and may take it, if you think it worth your while. The court," said he, "may send for any man out of the street, and tender him the oath : so we take no notice how you came hither, but, finding you here, we tender you the oath of allegiance, which, if you refuse to take, we shall commit you, and at length premunire you." Accordingly, as every one refused it, he was set aside and another called.

By this I saw it was in vain for me to insist upon false imprisonment, or ask the cause of my commitment, though I had before furnished myself with some *authorities and maxims of law* on that subject, to plead, *if room should be given ; and I had the book out of*

which I took them in my bosom ; for, the weather being cold, I wore a gown girt about the middle, and had put the book within it. But I now resolved to waive all that and insist upon another plea, which just then came into my mind. As soon therefore as I was called, I stepped nimbly to the bar, and stood up upon the stepping, that I might the better both hear and be heard, and, laying my hands upon the bar, stood ready, expecting what they would say to me.

I suppose they took me for a confident young man, for they looked very earnestly upon me ; and we faced each other, without words, for a while. At length the recorder, who was called Sir John Howel, asked me if I would take the oath of allegiance, to which I answered : " I conceive this court hath not power to tender that oath to me, in the condition wherein I stand." This so unexpected plea seemed to startle them, so that they looked one upon another, and said somewhat low one to another, " What ! doth he demur to the jurisdiction of the court ? " And thereupon the recorder asked me : " Do you then demur to the jurisdiction of the court ? " " Not absolutely," answered I, " but conditionally, with respect to my present condition, and the circumstances I am now under."

" Why, what is your present condition ? " said the recorder. " A prisoner," replied I. " And what is that," said he, " to you taking or not taking the oath ? " " Enough," said I, " as I conceive, to exempt me from the tender thereof, while I am under this condition." " Pray, what is your reason for that ? " said he. " This," said I, " that if I rightly understand the words of the statute, I am required to say that I do take this oath freely and without constraint ; which I cannot say, because I am not a free man, but in bonds, and under

constraint. Wherefore I conceive, that if you would tender that oath to me, ye ought first to set me free from my present imprisonment."

"But," said the recorder, "will you take the oath if you be set free?" "Thou shalt see that," said I, "when I am set free. Therefore set me free first, and then ask the question." "But," said he again, "you know your own mind, sure, and can tell now what you would do if you were at liberty." "Yes," replied I, "that I can; but I do not hold myself obliged to tell it until I am at liberty. Therefore set me at liberty, and ye shall soon hear it."

Thus we fenced a good while, till I was both weary of such trifling, and doubted also lest some of the standers-by should suspect I would take it if I was set at liberty. Wherefore, when the recorder put it upon me again, I told him plainly, "No; though I thought they ought not to tender it me till I had been set at liberty, yet if I was set at liberty I could not take the oath, because my Lord and Master, Christ Jesus, had expressly commanded his disciples not to swear at all."

As his command was enough to me, so this confession of mine was enough to them. "Take him away," said they; and away I was taken, and thrust into the bail-dock to my other friends, who had been called before me. And as soon as the rest of our company were called, and had refused to swear, we were all committed to Newgate, and thrust into the common side. When we came there, we found that side of the prison very full of Friends, who were prisoners there before (as indeed were, at that time, all the other parts of that prison, and most of the other prisons about the town), and our addition caused a great throng on that side.

Notwithstanding which, we were kindly welcomed by our friends whom we found there, and entertained by them, as well as their condition would admit, until we could get in our own accommodations, and provide for ourselves.

We had the liberty of the hall (which is on the first story over the gate, and which in the daytime is common to all the prisoners on that side, felons as well as others, to walk in, and to beg out of), and we had also the liberty of some other rooms over that hall, to walk or work in a-days. But in the night we all lodged in one room, which was large and round, having in the middle of it a great pillar of oaken timber, which bore up the chapel that is over it. To this pillar we fastened our hammocks at the one end, and to the opposite wall on the other end, quite round the room, and in three degrees, or three stories high, one over the other, so that they who lay in the upper and middle row of hammocks were obliged to go to bed first, because they were to climb up to the higher, by getting into the lower. And under the lower rank of hammocks, by the wall sides, were laid beds upon the floor, in which the sick, and such weak persons as could not get into the hammocks, lay. And, indeed, though the room was large and pretty airy, yet the breath and steam that came from so many bodies, of different ages, conditions, and constitutions, packed up so close together, was enough to cause sickness amongst us, and I believe did so; for there were many sick, and some very weak, and though we were not long there, yet in that time one of our fellow-prisoners, who lay in one of those pallet-beds, died.

This caused some bustle in the house. For the body of the deceased, being laid out, and put into a coffin,

was carried down and set in the room called the lodge, that the coroner might inquire into the cause and manner of his death. And the manner of their doing it is thus: As soon as the coroner is come, the turnkeys run out into the street under the gate, and seize upon every man that passes by, till they have got enough to make up the coroner's inquest. And so resolute these rude fellows are, that if any man resist or dispute it with them they drag him in by main force, not regarding what condition he is of. Nay, I have been told, they will not stick to stop a coach, and pluck the men out of it.

It so happened, that at this time they lighted on an ancient man, a grave citizen, who was trudging through the gate in great haste, and him they laid hold on, telling him he must come in, and serve upon the coroner's inquest. He pleaded hard, begged and besought them to let him go, assuring them he was going on very urgent business, and that the stopping of him would be greatly to his prejudice. But they were deaf to all entreaties, and hurried him in, the poor man chafing without remedy. When they had got their complement, and were shut in together, the rest of them said to this ancient man, "Come, father, you are the oldest among us, you shall be our foreman." And when the coroner had sworn them on the jury, the coffin was uncovered that they might look upon the body. But the old man, disturbed in his mind at the interruption they had given him, was grown somewhat fretful upon it, and said to them: "To what purpose do you show us a dead body here? You would not have us think, sure, that this man died in this room! How then shall we be able to judge how this man came by his death, unless we see the

place wherein he died, and wherein he hath been kept prisoner before he died ? How know we but that the incommodiousness of the place wherein he was kept may have occasioned his death ? Therefore show us the place wherein this man died."

This much displeased the keepers, and they began to banter the old man, thinking to beat him off it. But he stood up tightly to them. "Come, come," said he, "though you have made a fool of me in bringing me in hither, ye shall not find a child of me now I am here. Mistake not yourselves ; I understand my place, and your duty ; and I require you to conduct me and my brethren to the place where this man died : refuse it at your peril." They now wished they had let the old man go about his business, rather than, by troubling him, have brought this trouble on themselves. But when they saw he persisted in his resolution, and was peremptory, the coroner told them they must go show him the place.

It was in the evening when they began this work ; and by this time it was grown bedtime with us, so that we had taken down our hammocks, which in the day were hung up by the walls, and had made them ready to go into, and were undressing ourselves in readiness to go into them ; when on a sudden we heard a great noise of tongues, and of tramlings of feet, coming towards us. And by and by one of the turnkeys, opening our door, said : "Hold, hold, do not undress yourselves ; here is the coroner's inquest coming to see you." As soon as they were come to the door (for within the door there was scarcely room for them to come) the foreman, who led them, lifting up his hand, said : "Lord bless me, what a sight is here ! I did not think there had been so much cruelty in the

hearts of Englishmen, to use Englishmen in this manner ! We need not now question," said he to the rest of the jury, "how this man came by his death ; we may rather wonder that they are not all dead ; for this place is enough to breed an infection among them. Well," added he, "if it please God to lengthen my life till to-morrow, I will find means to let the king know how his subjects are dealt with."

Whether he did so or not, I cannot tell ; but I am apt to think he applied himself to the mayor or the sheriffs of London. For the next day, one of the sheriffs, called Sir William Turner, a woollen draper in Paul's Yard, came to the press-yard, and having ordered the porter of Bridewell to attend him there, sent up a turn-key amongst us to bid all the Bridewell prisoners come down to him, for they knew us not, but we knew our own company. Being come before him in the press-yard, he looked kindly on us, and spake courteously to us. "Gentlemen," said he, "I understand the prison is very full, and I am sorry for it. I wish it were in my power to release you and the rest of your friends that are in it. But since I cannot do that, I am willing to do what I can for you. And therefore I am come hither to inquire how it is ; and I would have all you who came from Bridewell return thither again, which will be a better accommodation to you ; and your removal will give the more room to those that are left behind ; and here is the porter of Bridewell, your old keeper, to attend you thither."

We duly acknowledged the favor of the sheriff to us and our friends above, in this removal of us, which would give them more room, and us a better air. But before we parted from him, I spake particularly to him on another occasion, which was this : When we came

into Newgate we found a shabby fellow there among the Friends, who, upon inquiry, we understood had thrust himself among our friends, when they were taken at a meeting, on purpose to be sent to prison with them, in hopes to be maintained by them. They knew nothing of him till they found him shut in with them in the prison, and then took no notice of him, as not knowing how or why he came thither. But he soon gave them cause to take notice of him; for wherever he saw any victuals brought forth for them to eat, he would be sure to thrust in, with knife in hand, and make himself his own carver; and so impudent was he, that if he saw the provision was short, whoever wanted, he would be sure to take enough. Thus lived this lazy drone upon the labors of the industrious bees, to his high content and their no small trouble, to whom his company was as offensive as his ravening was oppressive; nor could they get any relief by their complaining of him to the keepers.

This fellow, hearing the notice which was given for the Bridewell men to go down, in order to be removed to Bridewell again, and hoping, no doubt, that fresh quarters would produce fresh commons, and that he should fare better with us than where he was, thrust himself among us, and went down into the press-yard with us; which I knew not till I saw him standing there with his hat on, and looking as demurely as he could, that the sheriff might take him for a Quaker: at the sight of which my spirit was much stirred; wherefore, so soon as the sheriff had done speaking to us, and we had made our acknowledgment of his kindness, I stepped a little nearer to him, and pointing to that fellow, said, "That man is not only none of our company, for he is no Quaker; but is an idle, dissolute

fellow, who hath thrust himself in among our friends, to be sent to prison with them, that he might live upon them; therefore I desire we may not be troubled with him at Bridewell."

At this the sheriff smiled; and, calling the fellow forth, said to him, "How came you to be in prison?" "I was taken at a meeting," said he. "But what business had you there?" said the sheriff. "I went to hear," said he. "Aye, you went upon a worse design, it seems," replied the sheriff; "but I'll disappoint you, for I'll change your company, and send you to them that are like yourself." Then calling for the turnkey, he said, "Take this fellow, and put him among the felons; and be sure let him not trouble the Quakers any more." Hitherto this fellow had stood with his hat on, as willing to have passed, if he could, for a Quaker; but as soon as he heard this doom passed on him, off went his hat, and to bowing and scraping he fell, with "Good your worship, have pity upon me, and set me at liberty." "No, no," said the sheriff, "I will not so far disappoint you; since you had a mind to be in prison, in prison you shall be for me." Then bidding the turnkey take him away, he had him up, and put him among the felons; and so Friends had a good deliverance from him.

The sheriff then bidding us farewell, the porter of Bridewell came to us, and told us we knew our way to Bridewell without him, and he could trust us; therefore he would not stay nor go with us, but left us to take our own time, so we were in before bedtime. Then went we up again to our friends in Newgate, and gave them an account of what had passed; and, having taken a solemn leave of them, we made up our packs *to be gone*. But before I pass from Newgate, I think

it not amiss to give the reader some little account of what I observed while I was there.

The common side of Newgate is generally accounted, as it really is, the worst part of that prison; not so much from the place, as the people; it being usually stocked with the veriest rogues, and meanest sort of felons and pickpockets, who, not being able to pay chamber-rent on the master's side, are thrust in there. And if they come in bad, to be sure they do not go out better; for here they have an opportunity to instruct one another in their art, and impart to each other what improvements they have made therein.

The common hall, which is the first room over the gate, is a good place to walk in when the prisoners are out of it, saving the danger of catching some cattle which they may have left in it; and there I used to walk in a morning before they were let up, and sometimes in the daytime when they have been there.

They all carried themselves respectfully towards me, which I imputed chiefly to this, that when any of our women Friends came there to visit the prisoners, if they had not relations of their own there to take care of them, I (as being a young man, and more at leisure than most others, for I could not play the tailor there) was forward to go down with them to the grate, and see them safe out. And sometimes they have left money in my hands for the felons (who at such times were very importunate beggars), which I forthwith distributed among them in bread, which was to be had in the place. But so troublesome an office it was, that I thought one had as good have had a pack of hungry hounds about one, as these, when they knew there was a dole to be given. Yet this, I think, made them a little the more observant to me; for they would dispose

themselves to one side of the room, that they might make way for me to walk on the other.

For having, as I hinted before, made up our packs, and taken our leave of our friends whom we were to leave behind, we took our bundles on our shoulders, and walked, two and two abreast, through the Old Bailey into Fleet Street, and so to Old Bridewell. And it being about the middle of the afternoon, and the streets pretty full of people, both the shopkeepers at their doors, and passengers in the way, would stop us, and ask us what we were, and whither we were going. And when we had told them we were prisoners going from one prison to another, from Newgate to Bridewell, "What!" said they, "without a keeper?" "No," said we, "for our word which we have given is our keeper." Some thereupon would advise us not to go to prison, but to go home. But we told them we could not do so; we could suffer for our testimony, but could not fly from it. I do not remember we had any abuse offered us, but were generally pitied by the people.

When we were come to Bridewell, we were not put up into the great room in which we had been before, but into a low room in another fair court, which had a pump in the middle of it. And here we were not shut up as before, but had the liberty of the court to walk in, and of the pump to wash or drink at. And indeed we might easily have gone quite away if we would, there being a passage through the court into the street; but we were true and steady prisoners, and looked upon this liberty arising from their confidence in us, to be a kind of parole upon us; so that both conscience and honor stood now engaged for our true imprisonment.

Adjoining to this room wherein we were, was such another, both newly fitted up for workhouses, and

accordingly furnished with very great blocks for beating hemp upon, and a lusty whipping-post there was in each. And it was said that Richard Brown had ordered those blocks to be provided for the Quakers to work on, resolving to try his strength with us in that case ; but if that was his purpose, it was overruled, for we never had any work offered us, nor were we treated after the manner of those that are to be so used. Yet we set ourselves to work on them ; for, being very large, they served the tailors for shop-boards, and others wrought upon them as they had occasion ; and they served us very well for tables to eat on.

We had also, besides this room, the use of our former chamber above, to go into when we thought fit ; and thither sometimes I withdrew when I found a desire for retirement and privacy, or had something on my mind to write, which could not so well be done in company. And indeed, about this time, my spirit was more than ordinarily exercised, though on very different subjects. For, on the one hand, the sense of the exceeding love and goodness of the Lord to me, in his gracious and tender dealings with me, did deeply affect my heart, and caused me to break forth in a song of thanksgiving and praise to him ; and on the other hand, a sense of the profaneness, debaucheries, cruelties, and other horrid impieties of the age, fell heavy on me, and lay as a pressing weight upon my spirit ; and I breathed forth the following hymn to God, in acknowledgment of his great goodness to me, profession of my grateful love to him, and supplication to him for the continuance of his kindness to me in preserving me from the snares of the enemy, and keeping me faithful unto himself : —

Thee, thee alone, O God! I fear,
In thee do I confide ;
Thy presence is to me more dear
Than all things else beside.

Thy virtue, power, life, and light,
Which in my heart do shine,
Above all things are my delight :
O, make them always mine !

Thy matchless love constrains my life,
Thy life constrains my love,
To be to thee as chaste a wife
As is the turtle dove

To her elect, espoused mate,
Whom she will not forsake,
Nor can be brought to violate
The bond she once did make.

Just so my soul doth cleave to thee,
As to her only head,
With whom she longs conjoin'd to be
In bond of marriage-bed.

But, ah, alas ! her little fort
Is compassed about,
Her foes about her thick resort,
Within, and eke without.

How numerous are they now grown !
How wicked their intent ;
O, let thy mighty power be shown,
Their mischief to prevent !

They make assaults on every side,
But thou stand'st in the gap ;

Their battering rams make breaches wide,
But still thou mak'st them up.

Sometimes they use alluring wiles,
To draw into their power ;
And sometimes weep like crocodiles,
But all is to devour.

Thus they beset my feeble heart
With fraud, deceit, and guile,
Alluring her from thee to start,
And thy pure rest defile.

But, oh ! the breathing and the moan,
The sighings of the seed,
The groanings of the grieved one,
Do sorrows in me breed.

And that immortal, holy birth,
The offspring of thy breath,
To whom thy love brings life and mirth,
As doth thy absence, death.

That babe, that seed, that panting child,
Which cannot thee forsake,
In fear to be again beguiled,
Doth supplication make ;

O, suffer not thy chosen one,
Who puts her trust in thee,
And hath made thee her choice alone,
Ensnared again to be.

BRIDEWELL, LONDON, 1662.

In this sort did I spend some leisure hours during my confinement in Bridewell, especially after our return from Newgate thither ; when we had more liberty

and more opportunity, and room for retirement and thought; for, as the poet said,

"Carmina scribentes secessum et otia querunt."

They who would write in measure
Retire where they may stillness have and leisure.

And this privilege we enjoyed by the indulgence of our keeper, whose heart God disposed to favor us; so that both the master and his porter were very civil and kind to us, and had been so indeed all along. For when we were shut up before, the porter would readily let some of us go home in an evening, and stay at home till next morning; which was a great convenience to men of trade and business; which I, being free from, forbore asking for myself, that I might not hinder others. This he observed, and asked me when I meant to ask to go out. I told him I had not much occasion nor desire; yet at some time or other, perhaps I might have; but when I had I would ask him but once, and if he then denied me I would ask him no more.

After we were come back from Newgate, I had a desire to go thither again, to visit my friends who were prisoners there, more especially my dear friend, and father in Christ, Edward Burrough, who was then a prisoner, with many Friends more, in that part of Newgate which was then called Justice Hall. Whereupon the porter coming in my way, I asked him to let me go out for an hour or two, to see some friends of mine that evening. He, to enhance the kindness, made it a matter of some difficulty, and would have me stay till another night. I told him I would be at a word with him, for, as I had told him before that if he denied me I would ask him no more, so he should find I would keep to it. He was no sooner

gone out of my sight, than I espied his master crossing the court; wherefore, stepping to him, I asked him if he was willing to let me go out for a little while, to see some friends of mine that evening. Yes, said he, very willingly; and thereupon away walked I to Newgate, where having spent the evening among friends, I returned in good time.

Under this easy restraint we lay until the court sat at the Old Bailey again; and then, whether it was that the heat of the storm was somewhat abated, or by what other means Providence wrought it I know not, we were called to the bar, and, without farther question, discharged. Whereupon we returned to Bridewell again, and having raised some money among us, and therewith gratified both the master and his porter for their kindness to us, we spent some time in a solemn meeting, to return our thankful acknowledgment to the Lord, both for his preservation of us in prison, and deliverance of us out of it; and then, taking a solemn farewell of each other, we departed with bag and baggage. And I took care to return my hammock to the owner, with due acknowledgment of his great kindness in lending it to me.

Being now at liberty, I visited more generally my friends that were still in prison, and more particularly my friend and benefactor William Penington, at his house, and then went to wait upon my master, Milton; with whom yet I could not propose to enter upon my intermitted studies, until I had been in Buckinghamshire, to visit my worthy friends Isaac Penington and his virtuous wife, and other friends in that country. Thither, therefore, I betook myself, and the weather being frosty, and the ways by that means clean and good, I walked it throughout in a day, and was re-

ceived by my friends there with such demonstration of hearty kindness as made my journey very easy to me.

I had spent in my imprisonment that twenty shillings which I had received of William Penington, and twenty of the forty which had been sent me from Mary Penington, and had the remainder then about me. That therefore I now returned to her, with due acknowledgment of her husband's and her great care of me, and liberality to me in the time of my need. She would have had me keep it; but I begged of her to accept it from me again, since it was the redundancy of their kindness, and the other part had answered the occasion for which it was sent; and my importunity prevailed.

I intended only a visit thither, not a continuance; and therefore proposed, after I had stayed a few days, to return to my lodging and former course in London; but Providence ordered it otherwise. Isaac Penington had at that time two sons and one daughter, all then very young; of whom the eldest son, John Penington, and the daughter, Mary, the wife of Daniel Wharley, are yet living at the writing of this. And being himself both skilful and curious in pronunciation, he was very desirous to have them well grounded in the rudiments of the English tongue; to which end he had sent for a man out of Lancashire, whom, upon inquiry, he had heard of, who was undoubtedly the most accurate English teacher that ever I met with, or have heard of. His name was Richard Bradley. But as he pretended no higher than the English tongue, and had led them by grammar rules to the highest improvement they were capable of in that, he had taken his leave of them, and was gone up to London, to teach an English school of Friends' children there.

This put my friend to a fresh strait. He had sought for a new teacher to instruct his children in the Latin tongue, as the old had done in the English, but had not yet found one. Wherefore, one evening as we sat together by the fire in his bedchamber, which, for want of health, he kept, he asked me, his wife being by, if I would be so kind to him as to stay awhile with him till he could hear of such a man as he aimed at, and in the mean time enter his children in the rudiments of the Latin tongue.

This question was not more unexpected than surprising to me; and the more, because it seemed directly to thwart my former purpose and undertaking of endeavoring to improve myself, by following my studies with my master, Milton, which this would give at least a present diversion from, and for how long I could not foresee. But the sense I had of the manifold obligations I lay under to these worthy friends of mine, shut out all reasonings, and disposed my mind to an absolute resignation to their desire, that I might testify my gratitude by a willingness to do them any friendly service that I could be capable of.

And though I questioned my ability to carry on that work to its due height and proportion, yet, as that was not proposed, but an initiation only, by accident, into grammar, I consented to the proposal, as a present expedient till a more qualified person should be found, without further treaty, or mention of terms between us, than that of mutual friendship. And to render this digression from my studies the less uneasy to my mind, I recollected and often thought of that rule in Lilly,

*"Qui docet indoctos, licet indoctissimus esset,
Ipse brevi reliquis doctior esse queat."*

He that the unlearn'd doth teach, may quickly be
More learn'd than they, though most unlearned he.

With this consideration I undertook this province, and left it not until I married, which was not till the year 1669, near seven years from the time I came thither. In which time, having the use of my friend's books, as well as of my own, I spent my leisure hours much in reading, not without some improvement to myself in my private studies; which, with the good success of my labors bestowed on the children, and the agreeableness of conversation which I found in the family, rendered my undertaking more satisfactory, and my stay there more easy to me.

But, alas! not many days, not to say weeks, had I been there, ere we were almost overwhelmed with sorrow for the unexpected loss of Edward Burrough, who was justly very dear to us all. This not only good, but great good man, by a long and close confinement in Newgate, through the cruel malice and malicious cruelty of Richard Brown, was taken away by hasty death, to the unutterable grief of very many, and unspeakable loss to the church of Christ in general.

The particular obligation I had to him as the immediate instrument of my conviction, and high affection for him resulting therefrom, did so deeply affect my mind, that it was some pretty time before my passion could prevail to express itself in words; so true I found that of the tragedian:—

“Curæ leves loquuntur,
Ingentes stupent.”

Light griefs break forth, and easily get vent,
Great ones are through amazement closely pent.

At length my Muse, not bearing to be any longer

mute, brake forth in the following acrostic, which she called,

A PATHETIC ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF THAT DEAR AND FAITHFUL SERVANT OF GOD, EDWARD BUREROUGH, WHO DIED THE 14TH OF 12TH MONTH, 1662.

And thus she introduceth it : —

How long shall grief lie smother'd ! ah, how long
 Shall sorrow's signet seal my silent tongue ?
 How long shall sighs me suffocate ! and make
 My lips to quiver, and my heart to ache ?
 How long shall I with pain suppress my cries,
 And seek for holes to wipe my watery eyes ?
 Why may not I, by sorrow thus oppress,
 Pour forth my grief into another's breast ?
 If that be true which once was said by one,
 That " he mourns truly, who doth mourn alone," *
 Then may I truly say, my grief is true,
 Since it hath yet been known to very few.
 Nor is it now my aim to make it known
 To those to whom these verses may be shown ;
 But to assuage my sorrow-swollen heart,
 Which silence caused to taste so deep of smart.
 This is my end, that so I may prevent
 The vessel's bursting by a timely vent.

" Quis talia fando
 Temperet a lachrymis ! "

Who can forbear, when such things spoke he hears,
 His grave to water with a flood of tears ?

Echo, ye woods ; resound, ye hollow places,
 Let tears and paleness cover all men's faces.

* Ille dolet vere, qui sine teste dolet.

Let groans, like claps of thunder, pierce the air,
While I the cause of my just grief declare.
O that mine eyes could, like the streams of Nile,
O'erflow their watery banks ; and thou, meanwhile,
Drink in my trickling tears, O thirsty ground !
So mightst thou henceforth fruitfuller be found.

Lament, my soul, lament, thy loss is deep,
And all that Sion love, sit down and weep ;
Mourn, O ye virgins ! and let sorrow be
Each damsel's dowry, and alas ! for me,
Ne'er let my sobs and sighings have an end,
Till I again embrace m' ascended friend ;
And till I feel the virtue of his life
To console me, and repress my grief :
Infuse into my heart the oil of gladness
Once more, and by its strength, remove that sadness
Now pressing down my spirit, and restore

Fully that joy I had in him before.
Of whom a word I fain would stammer forth,
Rather to ease my heart, than show his worth :

His worth, my grief, which words too shallow are
In demonstration fully to declare,
Sighs, sobs, my best interpreters now are.

Envy, begone ! Black Momus, quit the place !
Ne'er more, Zoilus, show thy wrinkled face !
Draw near, ye bleeding hearts, whose sorrows are
Equal with mine ; in him ye had like share.
Add all your losses up, and ye shall see
Remainder will be nought but woe is me.
Endeared lambs, ye that have the white stone,
Do know full well his name, it is your own.

Eternitiz'd be that right worthy name,
Death hath but kill'd his body, not his fame,

Which in its brightness shall forever dwell,
And, like a box of ointment, sweetly smell.
Righteousness was his robe; bright majesty
Deck'd his brow; his look was heavenly.

Bold was he in his Master's quarrel, and
Undaunted; faithful to his Lord's command.
Requiting good for ill; directing all
Right in the way that leads out of the fall.
Open and free to ev'ry thirsty lamb;
Unspotted, pure, clean, holy, without blame.
Glory, light, splendor, lustre, was his crown,
Happy his change to him; — the loss our own.

Unica post cineres virtus veneranda beatos
Efficit.

Virtue alone, which reverence ought to have,
Doth make men happy, e'en beyond the grave.

While I had thus been breathing forth my grief,
In hopes thereby to get me some relief,
I heard, methought, his voice say, "Cease to mourn.
I live; and though the veil of flesh once worn
Be now stript off, dissolv'd, and laid aside,
My spirit's with thee, and shall so abide."
This satisfied me; down I threw my quill,
Willing to be resign'd to God's pure will.

Having discharged this duty to the memory of my deceased friend, I went on in my new province, instructing my little pupils in the rudiments of the Latin tongue, to the mutual satisfaction of both their parents and myself. As soon as I had gotten a little money in my pocket, which, as a premium without compact, I received from them, I took the first opportunity to return to my friend William Penington the money which

he had so kindly furnished me with in my need, at the time of my imprisonment in Bridewell, with a due acknowledgment of my obligation to him for it. He was not at all forward to receive it, so that I was fain to press it upon him.

While thus I remained in this family, various suspicions arose in the minds of some concerning me, with respect to Mary Penington's fair daughter Guli. For she having now arrived to a marriageable age, and being in all respects a very desirable woman, whether regard was had to her outward person, which wanted nothing to render her completely comely; or to the endowments of her mind, which were every way extraordinary, and highly obliging; or to her outward fortune, which was fair, and which with some hath not the last, nor the least place in consideration, — she was openly and secretly sought, and solicited by many, and some of them almost of every rank and condition; good and bad, rich and poor, friend and foe. To whom, in their respective turns, till he at length came for whom she was reserved, she carried herself with so much evenness of temper, such courteous freedom, guarded with the strictest modesty, that, as it gave encouragement or ground of hopes to none, so neither did it administer any matter of offence or just cause of complaint to any.

But such as were thus either engaged for themselves, or desirous to make themselves advocates for others, could not, I observed, but look upon me with an eye of jealousy and fear, that I would improve the opportunities I had, by frequent and familiar conversation with her, to my own advantage, in working myself into her good opinion and favor, to the ruin of their pretences. According, therefore, to the several kinds and

degrees of their fears of me, they suggested to her parents their ill surmises against me.

Some stuck not to question the sincerity of my intentions in coming at first among the Quakers, urging, with a "Why may it not be so?" that the desire and hopes of obtaining by that means so fair a fortune, might be the prime and chief inducement to me to thrust myself amongst that people. But this surmise could find no place with those worthy friends of mine, her father-in-law and her mother, who, besides the clear sense and sound judgment they had in themselves, knew very well upon what terms I came among them; how strait and hard the passage was to me; how contrary to all worldly interest, which lay fair another way; how much I had suffered from my father for it; and how regardless I had been of attempting or seeking anything of that nature in these three or four years I had been amongst them.

Some others, measuring me by the propensity of their own inclinations, concluded I would steal her, run away with her, and marry her; which they thought I might be the more easily induced to do, from the advantageous opportunities I frequently had of riding and walking abroad with her, by night as well as by day, without any other company than her maid. For so great indeed was the confidence that her mother had in me, that she thought her daughter safe if I was with her, even from the plots and designs that others had upon her. And so honorable were the thoughts she entertained concerning me, as would not suffer her to admit a suspicion that I could be capable of so much baseness as to betray the trust she, with so great freedom, reposed in me.

I was not ignorant of the various fears which filled

the jealous heads of some concerning me, neither was I so stupid, nor so divested of all humanity, as not to be sensible of the real and innate worth and virtue which adorned that excellent dame, and attraeted the eyes and hearts of so many with the greatest opportunity to seek and solicit her. But the force of truth and sense of honor suppressed whatever would have risen beyond the bounds of fair and virtuous friendship. For I easily foresaw, that if I should attempt anything in a dishonorable way, by force or fraud upon her, I should thereby bring a wound upon mine own soul, a foul scandal upon my religious profession, and an infamous stain upon mine honor; either of which was far more dear unto me than my life. Wherefore, having observed how some others had befooled themselves, by misconstruing her common kindness, expressed in an innocent, open, free, and familiar conversation, springing from the abundant affability, courtesy, and sweetness of her natural temper, to be the effect of a singular regard and peculiar affection to them, I resolved to shun the rock on which I had seen so many run and split; and remembering that saying of the poet,

"Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum,"—

Happy's he,

Whom others' dangers wary make to be,—

I governed myself in a free yet respectful carriage towards her, that I thereby preserved a fair reputation with my friends, and enjoyed as much of her favor and kindness, in a virtuous and firm friendship, as was fit for her to show, or for me to seek.

About this time, my father, resolving to sell his estate, and having reserved for his own use such parts

of his household goods as he thought fit, not willing to take upon himself the trouble of selling the rest, gave them unto me: whereupon I went down to Crowell, and, having before given notice there and thereabouts that I intended a public sale of them, I sold them, and thereby put some money into my pocket. Yet I sold such things only as I judged useful; leaving the pictures and armor, of which there was some store there, unsold.

Not long after this my father sent for me to come to him at London about some business; which, when I came there, I understood was to join with him in the sale of his estate, which the purchaser required for his own satisfaction and safety, I being then the next heir to it in law. And although I might probably have made some advantageous terms for myself by standing off, yet when I was satisfied by counsel that there was no entail upon it, or right of reversion to me, but that he might lawfully dispose of it as he pleased, I readily joined with him in the sale, without asking or having the least gratuity or compensation; no, not so much as the fee I had given to counsel, to secure me from any danger in doing it.

There having been some time before this a very severe law made against the Quakers by name, and more particularly prohibiting our meetings under the sharpest penalties, of five pounds for the first offence, so called, ten pounds for the second, and banishment for the third, under pain of felony for escaping or returning without license, which law was looked upon to have been procured by the bishops, in order to bring us to a conformity to their way of worship, I wrote a few lines in way of dialogue between a Bishop and a Quaker, which I called

CONFORMITY PRESSED AND REPRESSED.

B. What! You are one of them that do deny
To yield obedience by conformity.

Q. Nay: we desire conformable to be.

B. But unto what? *Q.* "The image of the Son."

B. What's that to us! we 'll have conformity
Unto our form. *Q.* Then we shall ne'er have done;
For, if your fickle minds should alter, we
Should be to seek a new conformity.

Thus who to-day conform to prelacy,
To-morrow may conform to popery.
But take this for an answer, bishop, we
Cannot conform either to them or thee.
For while to truth your forms are opposite,
Whoe'er conforms thereto doth not aright.

B. We 'll make such knaves as you conform, or lie
Confined in prison till ye rot and die.

Q. Well, gentle bishop, I may live to see,
For all thy threats, a check to cruelty;
But, in the mean time, I, for my defence,
Betake me to my fortress, patience.

Although the storm raised by the act for banishment fell with the greatest weight and force upon some other parts, as at London, Hertford, etc., yet we were not in Buckinghamshire wholly exempted therefrom, for a part of that shower reached us also. For a Friend of Amersham, whose name was Edward Perot, or Parret, departing this life, and notice being given that his body would be buried there on such a day, which was the first day of the fifth month, 1665, the Friends of the adjacent parts of the country resorted pretty generally to the burial; so that there was a fair appearance of Friends and neighbors, the deceased having been well-

beloved by both. After we had spent some time together in the house, Morgan Watkins, who at that time happened to be at Isaac Penington's, being with us, the body was taken up and borne on Friends' shoulders along the street, in order to be carried to the burying-ground, which was at the town's end, being part of an orchard belonging to the deceased, which he in his lifetime had appointed for that service.

It so happened that one Ambrose Bennet, a barrister at law, and a justice of the peace for that county, riding through the town that morning in his way to Aylesbury, was, by some ill-disposed person or other, informed that there was a Quaker to be buried there that day, and that most of the Quakers in the country were come thither to the burial. Upon this he set up his horses and stayed; and when we, not knowing anything of his design against us, went innocently forward to perform our Christian duty for the interment of our friend, he rushed out of his inn upon us, with the constables and a rabble of rude fellows whom he had gathered together, and, having his drawn sword in his hand, struck one of the foremost of the bearers with it, commanding them to set down the coffin. But the Friend who was so stricken, whose name was Thomas Dell, being more concerned for the safety of the dead body than his own, lest it should fall from his shoulder, and any indecency thereupon follow, held the coffin fast; which the justice observing, and being enraged that his word, how unjust soever, was not forthwith obeyed, set his hand to the coffin, and with a forcible thrust threw it off from the bearers' shoulders, so that it fell to the ground in the midst of the street; and there we were forced to leave it: for immediately thereupon the justice giving command for apprehending us, the constables

with the rabble fell on us, and drew some, and drove others into the inn, giving thereby an opportunity to the rest to walk away.

Of those that were thus taken I was one ; and being, with many more, put into a room under a guard, we were kept there till another justice, called Sir Thomas Clayton, whom Justice Bennet had sent for to join with him in committing us, was come. And then, being called forth severally before them, they picked out ten of us, and committed us to Aylesbury jail, for what neither we nor they knew : for we were not convicted of having either done or said anything which the law could take hold of ; for they took us up in an open street, the king's highway, not doing any unlawful act, but peaceably carrying and accompanying the corpse of our deceased friend, to bury it : which they would not suffer us to do, but caused the body to lie in the open street and in the cartway ; so that all the travellers that passed by, whether horsemen, coaches, carts, or wagons, were fain to break out of the way to go by it, that they might not drive over it, until it was almost night. And then, having caused a grave to be made in the unconsecrated part, as it is accounted, of that which is called the churchyard, they forcibly took the body from the widow, whose right and property it was, and buried it there.

When the justices had delivered us prisoners to the constable, it being then late in the day, which was the seventh day of the week, he, not willing to go so far as Aylesbury (nine long miles) with us that night, nor to put the town to the charge of keeping us there that night and the first day and night following, dismissed us upon our parole to come to him again at a set hour on the second-day morning : whereupon we all went

home to our respective habitations ; and, coming to him punctually according to promise, were by him, without guard, conducted to the prison.

The jailer, whose name was Nathaniel Birch, had not long before behaved himself very wickedly, with great rudeness and cruelty to some of our friends of the lower side of the county, whom he, combining with the clerk of the peace, whose name was Henry Wells, had contrived to get into his jail ; and after they were legally discharged in court, detained them in prison ; using great violence, and shutting them up close in the common jail among the felons, because they would not give him his unrighteous demand of fees ; which they were the more straitened in, from his treacherous dealing with them. And they having, through suffering, maintained their freedom, and obtained their liberty, we were the more concerned to keep what they had so hardly gained, and therefore resolved not to make any contract or terms for either chamber-rent or fees, but to demand a free prison, which we did.

When we came in, the jailer was ridden out to wait on the judges, who came in that day to begin the assize, and his wife was somewhat at a loss how to deal with us ; but, being a cunning woman, she treated us with great appearance of courtesy, offering us the choice of all her rooms ; and when we asked upon what terms, she still referred us to her husband ; telling us she did not doubt but that he would be very reasonable and civil to us. Thus she endeavored to draw us to take possession of some of her chambers at a venture, and trust to her husband's kind usage. But we, who, at the cost of our friends, had a proof of his kindness, were too wary to be drawn in by the fair words of a woman ; and therefore told her we would not settle

anywhere till her husband came home, and then would have a free prison, wheresoever he put us. Accordingly, walking all together into the court of the prison, in which was a well of very good water, and having beforehand sent to a Friend in the town, a widow woman, whose name was Sarah Lambarn, to bring us some bread and cheese, we sat down upon the ground round about the well, and when we had eaten, we drank of the water out of the well. Our great concern was for our friend Isaac Penington, because of the tenderness of his constitution; but he was so lively in his spirit, and so cheerfully given up to suffer, that he rather encouraged us than needed any encouragement from us.

In this posture the jailer, when he came home, found us, and having before he came to us consulted his wife, and by her understood on what terms we stood, when he came to us he hid his teeth, and, putting on a show of kindness, seemed much troubled that we should sit there abroad, especially his old friend Mr. Penington; and thereupon invited us to come in, and take what rooms in his house we pleased. We asked upon what terms; letting him know withal that we determined to have a free prison. He, like the sun and wind in the fable, that strove which of them should take from the traveller his cloak, having, like the wind, tried rough, boisterous, violent means to our friends before, but in vain, resolved now to imitate the sun, and shine as pleasantly as he could upon us; wherefore he told us we should make the terms ourselves, and be as free as we desired: if we thought fit, when we were released, to give him anything, he would thank us for it; and if not, he would demand nothing. Upon these terms we went in and disposed

ourselves, some in the dwelling-house, others in the malt-house, where they chose to be.

During the assize we were brought before Judge Morton, a sour, angry man, who very rudely reviled us; but would not hear either us or the cause, but referred the matter to the two justices who had committed us. They, when the assize was ended, sent for us to be brought before them at their inn, and fined us, as I remember, six shillings and eightpence apiece; which we not consenting to pay, they committed us to prison again for one month from that time, on the act for banishment.

When we had lain there that month, I, with another, went to the jailer to demand our liberty, which he readily granted, telling us the door should be opened when we pleased to go. This answer of his I reported to the rest of my friends there, and thereupon we realized among us a small sum of money, which they put into my hand for the jailer; whereupon I, taking another with me, went to the jailer with the money in my hand, and reminding him of the terms upon which we accepted the use of his rooms, I told him that although we could not pay chamber rent or fees, yet, inasmuch as he had now been civil to us, we were willing to acknowledge it by a small token, and thereupon gave him the money. He, putting it into his pocket, said, "I thank you and your friends for it; and to let you see I take it as a gift, not a debt, I will not look on it to see how much it is."

The prison door being then set open for us, we went out, and departed to our respective homes. But before I left the prison, considering one day with myself the different kinds of liberty and confinement, freedom and bondage, I took my pen and wrote the following enigma or riddle:—

Lo! here a riddle to the wise,
In which a mystery there lies;
Read it therefore with that eye
Which can discern a mystery.

THE RIDDLE.

Some men are free, while they in prison lie;
Others, who ne'er saw prison, captives die.

CAUTION.

He that can receive it may;
He that cannot, let him say.
And not be hasty, but suspend
His judgment till he sees the end.

SOLUTION.

He only 's free indeed, that 's free from sin,
And he is fastest bound, that 's bound therein.

CONCLUSION.

This is the liberty I chiefly prize;
The other, without this, I can despise.

Some little time before I went to Aylesbury prison I was desired by my quondam master, Milton, to take a house for him in the neighborhood where I dwelt, that he might go out of the city for the safety of himself and his family, the pestilence then growing hot in London. I took a pretty box for him in Giles Chalfont, a mile from me, of which I gave him notice, and intended to wait on him and see him well settled in it, but was prevented by that imprisonment. But now being released, and returned home, I soon made a visit to him, to welcome him into the country. After some common discourses had passed between us, he called for a manuscript of his; which, being brought, he de-

livered to me, bidding me take it home with me and read it at my leisure ; and when I had so done, return it to him with my judgment thereupon.

When I came home, and had set myself to read it, I found it was that excellent poem which he entitled "*Paradise Lost*." After I had, with the best attention, read it through, I made him another visit, and returned him his book, with due acknowledgment of the favor he had done me in communicating it to me. He asked me how I liked it, and what I thought of it, which I modestly but freely told him ; and after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, "Thou hast said much here of *Paradise Lost*, but what hast thou to say of *Paradise Found* ?" He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse ; then brake off that discourse and fell upon another subject. After the sickness was over and the city well cleansed, and become safely habitable again, he returned thither. And when afterwards I went to wait on him there, which I seldom failed of doing whenever my occasions drew me to London, he showed me his second poem, called "*Paradise Regained*," and in a pleasant tone said to me, "This is owing to you, for you put it into my head by the question you put to me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of." But from this digression I return to the family I then lived in.

We had not been long at home, about a month perhaps, before Isaac Penington was taken out of his house in an arbitrary manner, by military force, and carried prisoner to Aylesbury jail again, where he lay three quarters of a year, with great hazard of his life, it being the sickness year, and the plague being not only in the town but in the jail.

Meanwhile his wife and family were turned out of

his house, called the Grange, at Peter's Chalfont, by them who had seized upon his estate ; and the family being by that means broken up, some went one way, others another. Mary Penington herself, with her younger children, went down to her husband at Aylesbury. Guli, with her maid, went to Bristol, to visit her former maid Anne Hersent, who was married to a merchant of that city, whose name was Thomas Biss ; and I went to Aylesbury with the children ; but not finding the place agreeable to my health, I soon left it, and returning to Chalfont took a lodging, and was dieted in the house of a friendly man ; and after some time went to Bristol, to conduct Guli home. Meanwhile Mary Penington took lodgings in a farmhouse called Bottrels, in the parish of Giles Chalfont, where, when we returned from Bristol, we found her.

We had been there but a very little time before I was sent to prison again, upon this occasion : there was in those times a meeting once a month at the house of George Salter, a Friend, of Hedgerley, to which we sometimes went ; and Morgan Watkins being with us, he and I, with Guli and her maid, and one Judith Parker, wife of Dr. Parker, one of the College of Physicians at London, with a maiden daughter of theirs (neither of whom were Quakers, but, as acquaintance of Mary Penington, were with her on a visit), walked over to that meeting ; it being about the middle of the first month, and the weather good.

This place was about a mile from the house of Ambrose Bennet, the justice, who the summer before had sent me and some other Friends to Aylesbury prison, from the burial of Edward Parret of Amersham ; and he, by what means I know not, getting notice not only of the meeting, but, as was supposed, of our being there,

came himself to it, and as he came, caught up a stackwood stick, big enough to knock any man down, and brought it with him hidden under his cloak. Being come to the house, he stood for a while without the door, and out of sight, listening to hear what was said, for Morgan was then speaking in the meeting. But certainly he heard very imperfectly, if it was true which we heard he said afterwards among his companions, as an argument that Morgan was a Jesuit, viz. that in his preaching he trolled over his Latin as fluently as ever he heard any one. Whereas Morgan, good man, was better versed in Welsh than in Latin, which, I suppose, he had never learned; I am sure he did not understand it.

When this martial justice, who at Amersham had, with his drawn sword, struck an unarmed man, who he knew would not strike again, had now stood some time abroad, on a sudden he rushed in among us, with the stackwood stick held up in his hand ready to strike, crying out, "Make way there"; and an ancient woman not getting soon enough out of his way, he struck her with the stick a shrewd blow over the breast. Then pressing through the crowd to the place where Morgan stood, he plucked him from thence, and caused so great a disorder in the room that it brake the meeting up; yet would not the people go away or disperse themselves, but tarried to see what the issue would be.

Then taking pen and paper, he sat down at the table among us, and asked several of us our names, which we gave, and he set down in writing. Amongst others he asked Judith Parker, the doctor's wife, what her name was, which she readily gave; and thence taking occasion to discourse him, she so overmastered him by clear reason, delivered in fine language, that he, glad

to be rid of her, struck out her name and dismissed her; yet did not she remove, but kept her place amongst us. When he had taken what number of names he thought fit, he singled out half a dozen; whereof Morgan was one, I another, one man more, and three women, of which the woman of the house was one, although her husband then was, and for divers years before had been, a prisoner in the Fleet for tithes, and had nobody to take care of his family and his business but his wife.

Us six he committed to Aylesbury jail, which, when the doctor's wife heard him read to the constable, she attacked him again, and having put him in mind that it was a sickly time, and that the pestilence was reported to be in that place, she, in handsome terms, desired him to consider in time how he would answer the cry of our blood, if, by his sending us to be shut up in an infected place, we should lose our lives there. This made him alter his purpose, and by a new mittimus he sent us to the house of correction at Wycombe. And although he committed us upon the act for banishment, which limited a certain time for imprisonment, yet he in his mittimus limited no time, but ordered us to be kept till we should be delivered by due course of law; so little regardful was he, though a lawyer, of keeping to the letter of the law.

We were committed on the 13th day of the month called March, 1665, and were kept close prisoners there till the 7th day of the month called June, which was some days above twelve weeks, and much above what the act required. Then were we sent for to the justice's house, and the rest being released, Morgan, Watkins, and I were required to find sureties for our appearance at the next assizes; which we refusing to do, were committed anew to our old prison, the house

of correction at Wycombe, there to lie until the next assizes; Morgan being in this second mittimus represented as a notorious offender in preaching, and I, as being upon the second conviction, in order to banishment. There we lay till the 25th day of the same month; and then, by the favor of the Earl of Ancram, being brought before him at his house, we were discharged from the prison, upon our promise to appear, if at liberty and in health, at the assizes: which we did, and were there discharged by proclamation.

During my imprisonment in this prison, I betook myself for an employment to making of nets for kitchen service, to boil herbs, etc., in, which trade I learned of Morgan Watkins; and selling some, and giving others, I pretty well stocked the Friends of that country with them.

Though in that confinement I was not very well suited with company for conversation, Morgan's natural temper not being very agreeable to mine, yet we kept a fair and brotherly correspondence, as became friends, prison-fellows, and bedfellows, which we were. And indeed it was a good time, I think, to us all, for I found it so to me: the Lord being graciously pleased to visit my soul with the refreshing dews of his divine life, whereby my spirit was more and more quickened to him, and truth gained ground in me over the temptations and snares of the enemy; which frequently raised in my heart thanksgivings and praises unto the Lord. And at one time more especially the sense I had of the prosperity of truth, and the spreading thereof, filling my heart with abundant joy, made my cup overflow, and the following lines dropped out: —

For truth I suffer bonds, in truth I live,
And unto truth this testimony give,

That truth shall over all exalted be,
 And in dominion reign for evermore ;
 The child 's already born that this may see.
 Honor, praise, glory be to God therefore.

And underneath thus : —

Though death and hell should against truth combine,
 Its glory shall through all their darkness shine.

This I saw with an eye of faith, beyond the reach
 of human sense ; for,

As strong desire
 Draws objects nigher
 In apprehension than indeed they are,
 I, with an eye
 That pierced high,
 Did thus of truth's prosperity declare.

After we had been discharged at the assizes, I returned to Isaac Penington's family at Bottrel's in Chalfont, and, as I remember, Morgan Watkins with me, leaving Isaac Penington a prisoner in Aylesbury jail. The lodgings we had in this farmhouse (Bottrel's) proving too strait and inconvenient for the family, I took larger and better lodgings for them in Berrie House at Amersham, whither we went at the time called Michaelmas, having spent the summer at the other place.

Some time after was that memorable meeting appointed to be holden at London, through a divine opening in the motion of life, in that eminent servant and prophet of God, George Fox, for the restoring and bringing in again of those who had gone out from truth, and the holy unity of Friends therein, by the means and ministry of John Perrot.

This man came pretty early amongst Friends, and

too early took upon him the ministerial office ; and being, though little in person, yet great in opinion of himself, nothing less would serve him than to go and convert the Pope ; in order whereunto, he having a better man than himself, John Luff, to accompany him, travelled to Rome, where they had not been long ere they were taken up, and clapped into prison. Luff, as I remember, was put into the inquisition, and Perrot in their bedlam or hospital for madmen. Luff died in prison, not without well-grounded suspicion of being murdered there ; but Perrot lay there some time, and now and then sent over an epistle to be printed here, written in such an affected and fantastic style, as might have induced an indifferent reader to believe they had suited the place of his confinement to his condition.

After some time, through the mediation of Friends (who hoped better of him than he proved) with some person of note and interest there, he was released, and came back to England. And the report of his great sufferings there, far greater in report than in reality, joined with a singular show of sanctity, so far opened the hearts of many tender and compassionate Friends towards him, that it gave him the advantage of insinuating himself into their affections and esteem, and made way for the more ready propagation of that peculiar error of his, of keeping on the hat in time of prayer, as well public as private, unless they had an immediate motion at that time to put it off.

Now, although I had not the least acquaintance with this man, not having ever exchanged a word with him, though I knew him by sight ; nor had I any esteem for him, for either his natural parts or ministerial gift, but rather a dislike of his aspect, preaching, and way of writing ; yet this error of his being broached in

the time of my infancy and weakness of judgment as to truth, while I lived privately in London and had little converse with Friends, I, amongst the many who were caught in that snare, was taken with the notion, as what then seemed to my weak understanding suitable to the doctrine of a spiritual dispensation. And the matter coming to warm debates, both in words and writing, I, in a misguided zeal, was ready to enter the lists of contention about it; not then seeing what spirit it proceeded from and was managed by, nor foreseeing the disorder and confusion in worship which must naturally attend it. But as I had no evil intention or sinister end in engaging in it, but was simply betrayed by the specious pretence and show of greater spirituality, the Lord, in tender compassion to my soul, was graciously pleased to open my understanding, and give me a clear sight of the enemy's design in this work, and drew me off from the practice of it, and to bear testimony against it as occasion offered.

But when that solemn meeting was appointed at London for a travail in spirit on behalf of those who had thus gone out, that they might rightly return, and be sensibly received into the unity of the body again, my spirit rejoiced, and with gladness of heart I went to it, as did many more of both city and country; and, with great simplicity and humility of mind, did honestly and openly acknowledge our outgoing, and take condemnation and shame to ourselves. And some that lived at too remote a distance, in this nation as well as beyond the seas, upon notice of that meeting and the intended service of it, did the like by writing, in letters directed to and openly read in the meeting, which for that purpose was continued many days.

Thus, in the motion of life, were the healing waters

stirred, and many, through the virtuous power thereof, restored to soundness; and indeed not many lost. And though most of those who thus returned were such as with myself had before renounced the error and forsaken the practice, yet did we sensibly find that forsaking without confessing, in case of public scandal, was not sufficient; but that an open acknowledgment of open offences, as well as forsaking them, was necessary to the obtaining of complete remission.

Not long after this, George Fox was moved of the Lord to travel through the country, from county to county, to advise and encourage Friends to set up Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, for the better ordering of the affairs of the church, in taking care of the poor, and exercising a true gospel discipline, for a due dealing with any that might walk disorderly under our name, and to see that such as should marry among us did act fairly and clearly in that respect.

When he came into this county, I was one of the many Friends that were with him at the meeting for that purpose. And afterwards I travelled with Guli and her maid into the West of England, to meet him there and to visit Friends in those parts; and we went as far as Topsham, in Devonshire, before we found him. He had been in Cornwall, and was then returning, and came in unexpectedly at Topsham, where we then were providing, if he had not then come thither, to go that day towards Cornwall. But after he was come to us we turned back with him through Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Dorsetshire, having generally very good meetings where he was; and the work he was chiefly concerned in went on very prosperously and well, without any opposition or dislike; save that

in the general meeting of Friends in Dorsetshire, a quarrelsome man, who had gone out from Friends in John Perrot's business, and had not come rightly in again, but continued in the practice of keeping on his hat in the time of prayer, to the great trouble and offence of Friends, began to cavil and raise disputes, which occasioned some interruption and disturbance.

Not only George and Alexander Parker, who were with him, but divers of the ancient Friends of that county, endeavored to quiet that troublesome man, and make him sensible of his error; but his unruly spirit would still be opposing what was said unto him, and justifying himself in that practice. This brought a great weight and exercise upon me, who sat at a distance in the outward part of the meeting; and after I had for some time borne the burthen thereof, I stood up in the constraining power of the Lord, and, in great tenderness of spirit, declared unto the meeting, and to that person more particularly, how it had been with me in that respect; how I had been betrayed into that wrong practice; how strong I had been therein, and how the Lord had been graciously pleased to show me the evil thereof, and recover me out of it. This coming unexpectedly from me, a young man, a stranger, and one who had not intermeddled with the business of the meeting, had that effect upon the caviller, that if it did not satisfy him, it did at least silence him, and made him for the present sink down and be still, without giving any further disturbance to the meeting. And the Friends were well pleased with this unlooked-for testimony from me; and I was glad that I had that opportunity to confess to the truth, and to acknowledge once more, in so public a manner, the mercy and goodness of the Lord to me therein.

By the time we came back from this journey the summer was pretty far gone; and the following winter I spent with the children of the family, as before, without any remarkable alteration in my circumstances, until the next spring, when I found in myself a disposition of mind to change my single life for a married state. I had always entertained so high a regard for marriage, as it was a divine institution, that I held it not lawful to make it a sort of political trade to rise in the world by. And therefore, as I could not but in my judgment blame such as I found made it their business to hunt after and endeavor to gain those who were accounted great fortunes, not so much regarding what she is as what she *has*, but making wealth the chief, if not the only thing aimed at, so I resolved to avoid, in my own practice, that course, and how much soever my condition might have prompted me, as well as others, to seek advantage that way, never to engage on the account of riches, nor at all to marry till judicious affection drew me to it, which I now began to feel at work in my breast.

The object of this affection was a Friend whose name was Mary Ellis, whom for divers years I had had an acquaintance with in the way of common friendship only, and in whom I thought I then saw those fair prints of truth and solid virtue, which I afterwards found in a sublime degree in her; but what her condition in the world was as to estate, I was wholly a stranger to, nor desired to know. I had once, a year, or two before, had an opportunity to do her a small piece of service, which she wanted some assistance in; wherein I acted with all sincerity and freedom of mind, not expecting or desiring any advantage by her, or reward from her, being very well satisfied in the act itself, that I had served a friend, and helped the helpless.

That little intercourse of common kindness between us ended without the least thought (I am verily persuaded on her part, and well assured on my own) of any other or further relation than that of a free and fair friendship; nor did it at that time lead us into any closer conversation or more intimate acquaintance one with the other, than had been before. But some time (and that a good while) after, I found my heart secretly drawn and inclining towards her; yet was I not hasty in proposing, but waited to feel a satisfactory settlement of mind therein, before I made any step thereto.

After some time, I took an opportunity to open my mind therein unto my much-honored friends Isaac and Mary Penington, who then stood *parentum loco*, in the place or stead of parents to me. They, having solemnly weighed the matter, expressed their unity therewith; and indeed their approbation thereof was no small confirmation to me therein. Yet took I further deliberation, often retiring in spirit to the Lord, and crying to him for direction, before I addressed myself to her. At length, as I was sitting all alone, waiting upon the Lord for counsel and guidance in this, in itself and to me, so important affair, I felt a word sweetly arise in me, as if I heard a voice, which said, "Go, and prevail." And faith springing in my heart with the word, I immediately arose and went, nothing doubting.

When I was come to her lodgings, which were about a mile from me, her maid told me she was in her chamber; for having been under some indisposition of body, which had obliged her to keep her chamber, she had not yet left it; wherefore I desired the maid to acquaint her mistress that I was come to give her a

visit, whereupon I was invited to go up to her. And after some little time spent in common conversation, feeling my spirit weightily concerned, I solemnly opened my mind unto her, with respect to the particular business I came about; which I soon perceived was a great surprisal to her; for she had taken in an apprehension, as others had done, that mine eye had been fixed elsewhere, and nearer home.

I used not many words to her; but I felt a divine power went along with the words, and fixed the matter expressed by them so fast in her breast that, as she afterwards acknowledged to me, she could not shut it out. I made at that time but a short visit; for having told her I did not expect an answer from her now, but desired she would, in the most solemn manner, weigh the proposal made, and in due time give me such an answer thereunto as the Lord should give her, I took my leave of her and departed, leaving the issue to the Lord.

I had a journey then at hand, which I foresaw would take me up two weeks' time. Wherefore, the day before I was to set out, I went to visit her again, to acquaint her with my journey, and excuse my absence; not yet pressing her for an answer, but assuring her that I felt in myself an increase of affection to her, and hoped to receive a suitable return from her in the Lord's time; to whom, in the mean time, I committed both her, myself, and the concern between us. And indeed I found, at my return, that I could not have left it in a better hand, for the Lord had been my advocate in my absence, and had so far answered all her objections, that when I came to her again, she rather acquainted me with them than urged them. From that time forwards we entertained each other with affection-

ate kindness, in order to marriage; which yet we did not hasten to, but went on deliberately. Neither did I use those vulgar ways of courtship, by making frequent and rich presents; not only for that my outward condition would not comport with the expense, but because I liked not to obtain by such means, but preferred an unbribed affection.

While this affair stood thus with me I had occasion to take another journey into Kent and Sussex; which yet I would not mention here, but for a particular accident which befell me on the way. The occasion of this journey was this: Mary Penington's daughter Guli, intending to go to her uncle Springett's, in Sussex, and from thence amongst her tenants, her mother desired me to accompany her, and assist her in her business with her tenants.

We tarried at London the first night, and set out next morning on the Tunbridge road; and Seven Oak lying in our way, we put in there to bait: but truly we had much ado to get either provisions or room for ourselves or our horses, the house was so filled with guests, and those not of the better sort. For the Duke of York being, as we were told, on the road that day for the Wells, divers of his guards, and the meaner sort of his retinue, had nearly filled all the inns there. I left John Gigger, who waited on Guli in this journey, and was afterwards her menial servant, to take care for the horses, while I did the like, as well as I could, for her. I got a little room to put her into, and having shut her into it, went to see what relief the kitchen would afford us; and with much ado, by praying hard and paying dear, I got a small joint of meat from the spit, which served rather to stay than satisfy our stomachs, for we were all pretty sharp set.

After this short repast, being weary of our quarters, we quickly mounted, and took the road again, willing to hasten from a place where we found nothing but rudeness: a knot of [rude people] soon followed us, designing, as we afterwards found, to put an abuse upon us, and make themselves sport with us. We had a spot of fine smooth sandy way, whereon the horses trod so softly, that we heard them not till one of them was upon us. I was then riding abreast with Guli and discoursing with her; when on a sudden, hearing a little noise, and turning my eye that way, I saw a horseman coming up on the further side of her horse, having his left arm stretched out, just ready to take her about the waist, and pluck her off backwards from her own horse, to lay her before him upon his. I had but just time to thrust forth my stick between him and her, and bid him stand off; and at the same time reining my horse to let hers go before me, thrust in between her and him, and, being better mounted than he, my horse run him off. But his horse being, though weaker than mine, yet nimble, he slipped by me, and got up to her on the near side, endeavoring to offer abuse to her, to prevent which I thrust in upon him again, and in our jostling we drove her horse quite out of the way, and almost into the next hedge.

While we were thus contending, I heard a noise of loud laughter behind us, and, turning my head that way, I saw three or four horsemen more, who could scarce sit their horses for laughing, to see the sport their companion made with us. From thence I saw it was a plot laid, and that this rude fellow was not to be dallied with; wherefore I bestirred myself the more to keep him off, admonishing him to take warning in time, and give over his abusiveness, lest he repented too late.

He had in his hand a short thick truncheon, which he held up at me; on which laying hold with a strong gripe, I suddenly wrenched it out of his hand, and threw it at as great a distance behind me as I could.

While he rode back to fetch his truncheon, I called up honest John Gigger, who was indeed a right honest man, and of a temper so thoroughly peaceable that he had not hitherto put in at all. But now I roused him, and bid him ride so close up to his mistress's horse on the further side, that no horse might thrust in between, and I would endeavor to guard the near side. But he, good man, not thinking it perhaps decent enough for him to ride so near his mistress, left room enough for another to ride between. And, indeed, so soon as our brute had recovered his truncheon, he came up directly thither, and had thrust in again, had not I, by a nimble turn, chopped in upon him and kept him at bay. I then told him I had hitherto spared him, but wished him not to provoke me further. This I spake with such a tone, as bespoke a high resentment of the abuse put upon us, and, withal, pressed so close upon him with my horse that I suffered him not to come up any more to Guli.

This, his companions, who kept an equal distance behind us, both heard and saw, and thereupon two of them, advancing, came up to us. I then thought I might likely have my hands full, but Providence turned it otherwise: for they, seeing the contest rise so high, and probably fearing it would rise higher, not knowing where it might stop, came in to part us; which they did by taking him away, one of them leading his horse by the bridle, and the other driving him on with his whip, and so carried him off.

One of their company stayed yet behind. And it so

happening that a great shower just then fell, we betook ourselves for shelter into a thick and well-spread oak which stood hard by. Thither also came that other person, who wore the duke's livery; and while we put on our defensive garments against the weather, which then set in to be wet, he took the opportunity to discourse with me about the man that had been so rude to us, endeavoring to excuse him, by alleging that he had drunk a little too liberally. I let him know that one vice would not excuse another; that although but one of them was actually concerned in the abuse, yet both he and the rest of them were abettors of it, and accessories to it; that I was not ignorant whose livery they wore; and was well assured their lord would not maintain them in committing such outrages upon travellers on the road, to our injury and his dishonor; that I understood the duke was coming down, and that they might expect to be called to an account for this rude action. He then begged hard that we would pass by the offence, and make no complaint to their lord, for he knew, he said, the duke would be very severe, and it would be the utter ruin of the young man. When he had said what he could, he went off before us, without any ground given him to expect favor; and when we had fitted ourselves for the weather, we followed after at our own pace.

When we came to Tunbridge, I set John Gigger foremost, bidding him lead on briskly through the town, and, placing Guli in the middle, I came close up after her, that I might both observe and interpose, if any fresh abuse should be offered her. We were expected, I perceived, for though it rained very hard, the street was thronged with men, who looked very earnestly upon us, but did not put any affront upon us.

We had a good way to ride beyond Tunbridge, and beyond the Wells, in byways among the woods, and were the later for the hindrance we had had on the way. And when, being come to Harbert Springett's house, Guli acquainted her uncle what danger and trouble she had gone through on the way, he resented it so high that he would have had the persons been prosecuted for it. But since Providence had interposed; and so well preserved and delivered her, she chose to pass by the offence.

When Guli had finished the business she went upon we returned home, and I delivered her safe to her glad mother. From that time forward I continued my visits to my best-beloved friend until we married, which was on the 28th day of the eighth month, called October, in the year 1669. We took each other in a select meeting of the ancient and grave Friends of that country, holden in a Friend's house, where in those times not only the Monthly Meeting for business, but the public meeting for worship was sometimes kept. A very solemn meeting it was, and in a weighty frame of spirit we were, in which we sensibly felt the Lord with us, and joining us; the sense whereof remained with us all our lifetime, and was of good service, and very comfortable to us on all occasions.

My next care, after marriage, was to secure my wife what moneys she had, and with herself bestowed upon me. For I held it would be an abominable crime in me, and savor of the highest ingratitude, if I, though but through negligence, should leave room for my father, in case I should be taken away suddenly, to break in upon her estate and deprive her of any part of that which had been and ought to be her own.

Wherefore with the first opportunity (as I remember the very next day, and before I knew particularly what she had) I made my will, and thereby secured to her whatever I was possessed of, as well all that which she brought, either in moneys or in goods, as that little which I had before I married her; which indeed was but little, yet more (by all that little) than I had ever given her ground to expect with me.

She had indeed been advised by some of her relations to secure before marriage some part, at least, of what she had, to be at her own disposal. Which, though perhaps not wholly free from some tincture of self-interest in the proposer, was not in itself the worst of counsel. But the worthiness of her mind, and the sense of the ground on which she received me, would not suffer her to entertain any suspicion of me; and this laid on me the greater obligation, in point of gratitude as well as of justice, to regard and secure to her, which I did.

I had not been long married before I was solicited by my dear friends Isaac and Mary Penington, and her daughter Guli, to take a journey into Kent and Sussex, to account with their tenants and overlook their estates in those counties, which before I was married I had had the care of; and accordingly the journey I undertook, though in the depth of winter.

My travels into those parts were the more irksome to me from the solitariness I underwent, and want of suitable society. For my business lying among the tenants, who were a rustic sort of people, of various persuasions and humors, but not Friends, I had little opportunity of conversing with Friends; though I contrived to be with them as much as I could, especially on the first day of the week.

But that which made my present journey more heavy to me was the sorrowful exercise which was newly fallen upon me from my father. He had, upon my first acquainting him with my inclination to marry, and to whom, not only very much approved the match, but voluntarily offered, without my either asking or expecting, to give me a handsome portion at present, with assurance of an addition to it hereafter. And he not only made this offer to me in private, but came down from London into the country on purpose to be better acquainted with my friend, and did there make the same proposal to her, offering also to give security to any friend or relation of hers for the performance; which offer she most generously declined, leaving him as free as she found him. But after we were married, notwithstanding such his promise, he wholly declined the performance of it, under pretence of our not being married by the priest and liturgy. This usage and evil treatment of us thereupon was a great trouble to me; and when I endeavored to soften him in the matter he forbid me speaking to him of it any more, and removed his lodging that I might not find him.

The grief I conceived on this occasion was not for any disappointment to myself or to my wife; for neither she nor I had any strict or necessary dependence upon that promise; but my grief was for the cause assigned by him as the ground of it, which was, that our marriage was not by priest or liturgy. And surely, hard would it have been for my spirit to bear up under the weight of this exercise, had not the Lord been exceeding gracious to me, and supported me with *the inflowings of his love and life, wherewith he visited my soul in my travail: the sense whereof raised*

in my heart a thankful remembrance of his manifold kindnesses in his former dealings with me.

About this time (as I remember) it was that some bickerings happening between some Baptists and some of the people called Quakers, in or about High Wycombe, in Buckinghamshire, occasioned by some reflecting words a Baptist preacher had publicly uttered in one of their meetings there against the Quakers in general, and William Penn in particular, it came at length to this issue, that a meeting for a public dispute was appointed to be holden at West Wycombe, between Jeremy Ives, who espoused his brother's cause, and William Penn. To this meeting, it being so near me, I went, rather to countenance the cause than for any delight I took in such work; for indeed I have rarely found the advantage equivalent to the trouble and danger arising from those contests: for which cause I would not choose them, as, being justly engaged, I would not refuse them.

The issue of this proved better than I expected. For Ives having undertaken an ill cause, to argue against the divine light and universal grace conferred by God on all men; when he had spent his stock of arguments, which he brought with him on that subject, finding his work go on heavily and the auditory not well satisfied, stepped down from his seat and departed, with purpose to break up the assembly. But, except some few of his party who followed him, the people generally stayed, and were the more attentive to what was afterwards delivered amongst them; which Ives, understanding, came in again, and, in an angry railing manner expressing his dislike that we went not away when he did, gave more disgust to the people.

After the meeting was ended, I sent to my friend

Isaac Penington (by his son and servant, who returned home, though it was late, that evening) a short account of the business, in the following distich :—

Prævaluit VERITAS : inimici terga dedere :
Nos sumus in tuto. Laus tribuenda Deo.

Which may be thus Englished :—

Truth hath prevail'd : the enemies did fly :
We are in safety. Praise to God on high.

But both they and we had quickly other work found us : it soon became a stormy time. The clouds had been long gathering, and threatened a tempest. The parliament had sat some time before, and hatched that unaccountable law, which was called the Conventicle Act : if that may be allowed to be called a law, by whomsoever made, which was so directly contrary to the fundamental laws of England, to common justice, equity, and right reason, as this manifestly was.

No sooner had the bishops obtained this law for suppressing all meetings but their own, than some of the clergy of most ranks, and some others too, who were overmuch bigoted to that party, bestirred themselves with might and main to find out and encourage the most profligate wretches to turn informers, and to get such persons into parochial offices as would be most obsequious to their commands, and ready at their beck, to put it into the most rigorous execution. Yet it took not alike in all places ; but some were forwarder in the work than others, according as the agents intended to be chiefly employed therein had been predisposed thereunto.

For in some parts of the nation care had been timely taken, by some not of the lowest rank, to choose out some particular persons, men of sharp wit, close coun-

tenances, pliant tempers, and deep dissimulation, and send them forth among the sectaries, so called, with instructions to thrust themselves into all societies, conform to all or any sort of religious profession, Proteus-like, change their shapes, and transform themselves from one religious appearance to another, as occasion should require; in a word, to be all things to all, not that they might win some, but that they might, if possible, ruin all, at least many.

But though it pleased the Divine Providence, who sometimes vouchsafed to bring good out of evil, to put a stop, in a great measure at least, to the persecution here begun, yet in other parts both of the city and country, it was carried on with great severity and rigor; the worst of men, for the most part, being set up for informers; the worst of magistrates encouraging and abetting them; and the worst of the priests, who first began to blow the fire, now seeing how it took, spread, and blazed, clapping their hands and hallooing them on to this evil work.

Scarce was the before-mentioned storm of outward persecution from the government blown over, when Satan raised another storm of another kind against us on this occasion. The foregoing storm of persecution, as it lasted long, so in many parts of the nation, and particularly at London, it fell very sharp and violent, especially on the Quakers. For they having no refuge but God alone to fly unto, could not dodge and shift to avoid the suffering, as others of other denominations could, and in their worldly wisdom and policy did; altering their meetings with respect both to place and time, and forbearing to meet when forbidden, or kept out of their meeting-houses. So that of the several sorts of dissenters, the Quakers only held up public tes-

timony, as a standard or ensign of religion, by keeping their meetings duly and fully, at the accustomed times and places, so long as they were suffered to enjoy the use of their meeting-houses ; and when they were shut up, and Friends kept out of them by force, they assembled in the streets, as near to their meeting-houses as they could.

This bold and truly Christian behavior in the Quakers disturbed and not a little displeased the persecutors, who, fretting, complained that the stubborn Quakers brake their strength, and bore off the blow from those other dissenters, whom as they most feared, so they principally aimed at. For indeed the Quakers they rather despised than feared, as being a people from whose peaceable principles and practices they held themselves secure from danger ; whereas having suffered severely, and that lately too, by and under the other dissenters, they thought they had just cause to be apprehensive of danger from them, and good reason to suppress them.

On the other hand, the more ingenious amongst other dissenters of each denomination, sensible of the ease they enjoyed by our bold and steady suffering, which abated the heat of the persecutors, and blunted the edge of the sword before it came to them, frankly acknowledged the benefit received ; calling us the bulwark that kept off the force of the stroke from them ; and praying that we might be preserved, and enabled to break the strength of the enemy ; nor could some of them forbear, those especially who were called Baptists, to express their kind and favorable opinion of us and of the principles we professed, which emboldened us to go through that, which but to hear of was a terror to them.

This their good-will raised ill-will against us in

some of their teachers, who, though willing to reap the advantage of a shelter, by a retreat behind us during the time that the storm lasted, yet partly through an evil emulation, partly through fear lest they should lose some of those members of their society, who had discovered such favorable thoughts of our principles and us, they set themselves, as soon as the storm was over, to represent us in as ugly a dress and in as frightful a figure to the world as they could invent and put upon us. In order whereunto, one Thomas Hicks, a preacher among the Baptists at London, took upon him to write several pamphlets successively, under the title of "A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker"; which were so craftily contrived that the unwary reader might conclude them to be not merely fictions, but real discourses, actually held between one of the people called Quakers and some other person. In these feigned dialogues, Hicks, having no regard to justice or common honesty, had made his counterfeit Quaker say whatsoever he thought would render him, one while sufficiently erroneous, another while ridiculous enough; forging, in the Quaker's name, some things so abominably false, other things so intolerably foolish, as could not reasonably be supposed to have come into the conceit, much less to have dropped from the lip or pen of any that went under the name of a Quaker.

These dialogues (shall I call them, or rather *diabologues*) were answered by our friend William Penn, in two books; the first being entitled "Reason against Railing," the other "The Counterfeit Christian detected"; in which Hicks being charged with manifest as well as manifold forgeries, perversions, downright lies and slanders against the people called Quakers in general, William Penn, George Whitehead, and divers

others by name ; complaint was made, by way of appeal, to the Baptists in and about London, for justice against Thomas Hicks.

Those Baptists, who it seems were in the plot with Hicks, to defame at any rate, right or wrong, the people called Quakers, taking the advantage of the absence of William Penn and George Whitehead, who were the persons most immediately concerned, and who were then gone a long journey on the service of truth, to be absent from the city in all probability for a considerable time, appointed a public meeting in one of their meeting-houses, under pretence of calling Thomas Hicks to account, and hearing the charge made good against him ; but with design to give the greater stroke to the Quakers, when they who should make good the charge against Hicks could not be present. For upon their sending notice to the lodgings of William Penn and George Whitehead of their intended meeting, they were told by several Friends that both William Penn and George Whitehead were from home, travelling in the counties, uncertain where ; and therefore could not be informed of their intended meeting, either by letter or express, within the time by them limited ; for which reason they were desired to defer the meeting till they could have notice of it and time to return, that they might be at it. But these Baptists, whose design was otherwise laid, would not be prevailed with to defer the meeting, but, glad of the advantage, gave their brother Hicks opportunity to make a colorable defence, where he had his party to help him, and none to oppose him ; and having made a mock show of examining him and his works of darkness, they, in fine, having heard one side, acquitted him.

This gave just occasion for a new complaint and demand of justice against him and them. For as soon as William Penn returned to London, he in print exhibited his complaint of this unfair dealing, and demanded justice, by a rehearing of the matter in a public meeting, to be appointed by joint agreement. This went hardly down with the Baptists, nor could it be obtained from them without great importunity and hard pressing. At length, after many delays and tricks used to shift it off, constrained by necessity, they yielded to have a meeting at their own meeting-house in Barbican, London.

There, amongst other friends, was I, and undertook to read our charge there against Thomas Hicks, which not without much difficulty I did; they, inasmuch as the house was theirs, putting all the inconveniences they could upon us. The particular passages and management of this meeting (as also of that other which followed soon after, and which, on their refusing to give us any other public meeting, we were fain to appoint in our own meeting-house, by Wheeler Street, near Spitalfields, London, and gave them timely notice) I forbear here to mention; there being in print a narrative of each, to which, for particular information, I refer the reader.

But to this meeting Thomas Hicks would not come, but lodged himself at an alehouse hard by; yet sent his brother Ives, with some others of the party, by clamorous noises to divert us from the prosecution of our charge against him, which they so effectually performed that they would not suffer the charge to be heard, though often attempted to be read.

As this rude behavior of theirs was a cause of grief to me, so afterwards, when I understood that they used

all evasive tricks to avoid another meeting with us, and refused to do us right, my spirit was greatly stirred at their injustice, and in the sense thereof, willing, if possible, to provoke them to more fair and manly dealing, I let fly a broadside at them, in a single sheet of paper, under the title of "A Fresh Pursuit"; in which, having restated the controversy between them and us, and re-inforced our charge of forgery, etc. against Thomas Hicks and his abettors, I offered a fair challenge to them (not only to Thomas Hicks himself, but to all those his compurgators who had before undertaken to acquit him from our charge, together with their companion Jeremy Ives) to give me a fair and public meeting, in which I would make good our charge against him as principal, and all the rest of them as accessories. But nothing could provoke them to come fairly forth.

Hitherto the war I had been engaged in was in a sort foreign, with people of other religious persuasions, such as were open and avowed enemies; but now another sort of war arose, an intestine war, raised by some among ourselves; such as had once been of us, and yet retained the same profession, and would have been thought to be of us still; but having, through ill-grounded jealousies, let in discontents, and there-upon fallen into jangling, chiefly about church discipline, they at length broke into an open schism, headed by two Northern men of name and note, John Wilkinson and John Story. The latter of whom, as being the most active and popular man, having gained a considerable interest in the West, carried the controversy with him thither, and there spreading it, drew many, too many, to abet him therein.

Among those, William Rogers, a merchant of Bris-

tol, was not the least, nor least accounted of, by himself and some others. He was a bold and an active man, moderately learned, but immoderately conceited of his own parts and abilities, which made him forward to engage, as thinking none would dare to take up the gauntlet he should cast down. This high opinion of himself made him rather a troublesome than a formidable enemy.

That I may here step over the various steps by which he advanced to open hostility (as what I was not actually or personally engaged in), he in a while arrived to that height of folly and wickedness, that he wrote and published a large book in five parts, to which he maliciously gave for a title, "The Christian Quaker distinguished from the Apostate and Innovator"; thereby arrogating to himself and those who were of his party, the topping style of "Christian Quaker," and no less impiously than uncharitably branding and rejecting all others, even the main body of Friends, for apostates and innovators.

When this book came abroad, it was not a little (and he for its sake) cried up by his injudicious admirers, whose applause setting his head afloat, he came up to London at the time of the Yearly Meeting then following, and at the close thereof, gave notice in writing to this effect, viz. that "if any were dissatisfied with his book, he was there ready to maintain and defend both it and himself against all comers." This daring challenge was neither dreaded nor slighted, but an answer was forthwith returned in writing, signed by a few Friends, amongst whom I was one, to let him know that, as many were dissatisfied with his book and him, he should not fail, God willing, to be met by the sixth hour, next morning, at the meeting-place, at Devonshire House.

Accordingly we met, and continued the meeting till

noon or after, in which time he, surrounded with such of his own party as might abet and assist him, was so fairly foiled and baffled, and so fully exposed, that he was glad to quit the place, and, early next morning, the town also ; leaving, in excuse for his going so abruptly off, and thereby refusing us another meeting with him, which we had earnestly provoked him to, this slight shift, that he had before given earnest for his passage in the stage-coach home, and was not willing to lose it."

I had before this gotten a sight of his book, and procured one for my use on this occasion, but I had not time to read it through ; but a while after, Providence cast another of them into my hands very unexpectedly, for our dear friend George Fox, passing through this country among Friends, and lying in his journey at my house, had one of them in his bags, which he had made some marginal notes upon. For that good man, like Julius Cæsar, willing to improve all parts of his time, did usually, even in his travels, dictate to his amanuensis what he would have committed to writing. I knew not that he had this book with him, for he had not said anything to me of it, till going in the morning into his chamber, while he was dressing himself, I found it lying on the table by him. And, understanding that he was going but for a few weeks, to visit Friends in the meetings hereabouts, and the neighboring parts of Oxford and Berkshire, and so return through this county again, I made bold to ask him if he would favor me so much as to leave it with me till his return, that I might have the opportunity of reading it through. He consented, and as soon almost as he was gone, I set myself to read it over. But I had not gone far in it,

ere, observing the many foul falsehoods, malicious slanders, gross perversions, and false doctrines, abounding in it, the sense thereof inflamed my breast with a just and holy indignation against the work, and that devilish spirit in which it was brought forth; wherefore, finding my spirit raised, and my understanding divinely opened to refute it, I began the book again, and reading it with pen in hand, answered it paragraphically as I went. And so clear were the openings I received from the Lord therein, that by the time my friend came back, I had gone through the greatest part of it, and was too far engaged in spirit to think of giving over the work; wherefore, requesting him to continue the book a little longer with me, I soon after finished the answer, which, with Friends' approbation, was printed, under the title of "An Antidote against the Infection of William Rogers's Book, mis-called 'The Christian Quaker,'" etc. This was written in the year 1682. But no answer was given to it, so far as I have ever heard, either by him or any other of his party, though many others were concerned therein, and some by name. Perhaps there might be a hand of Providence overruling them therein, to give me leisure to attend some other services, which soon after fell upon me.

For it being a stormy time, and persecution waxing hot upon the Conventicle Act, through the busy boldness of hungry informers, who for their own advantage did not only themselves hunt after religious and peaceable meetings, but drove on the officers, not only the more inferior and subordinate, but, in some places, even the justices also, for fear of penalties, to hunt with them and for them, I found a pressure upon my spirit to write a small treatise, to inform such officers

how they might secure and defend themselves from being ridden by those malapert informers and made their drudges:

This treatise I called, "A Caution to Constables, and other inferior Officers, concerned in the execution of the Conventicle Act; with some Observations thereupon, humbly offered by way of Advice to such well-meaning and moderate Justices of the Peace, as would not willingly ruin their peaceable Neighbors," etc. This was thought to have some good service where it came, upon such sober and moderate officers, as well justices as constables, etc. as acted rather by constraint than choice; by encouraging them to stand their ground, with more courage and resolution against the insults of saucy informers.

But, whatever case it brought to others, it brought me some trouble, and had like to have brought me into more danger, had not Providence wrought my deliverance by an unexpected way. For as soon as it came forth in print, which was in the year 1683, one William Ayrs, of Watford, in Hertfordshire, a friend and acquaintance of mine, who was both an apothecary and barber, being acquainted with divers of the gentry in those parts, and going often to some of their houses to trim them, took one of these books with him when he went to trim Sir Benjamin Titchborn, of Rickmansworth, and presented it to him, supposing he would have taken it kindly, as in like cases he had formerly done. But it fell out otherwise. For he looking it over after Ayrs was gone, and taking it by the wrong handle, entertained an evil opinion of it, and of me for it, though he knew me not.

He thereupon communicated both the book and his thoughts upon it to a neighboring justice, living in

Rickmansworth, whose name was Thomas Fotherly ; who concurring with him in judgment, they concluded that I should be taken up and prosecuted for it, as a seditious book, for a libel they could not call it, my name being to it at length.

Wherefore sending for Ayrs, who had brought the book, Justice Titchborn examined him if he knew me, and where I dwelt. Who telling him he knew me well, and had been often at my house, he gave him in charge to give me notice that I should appear before him and the other justice at Rickmansworth on such a day ; threatening that if I did not appear, he himself should be prosecuted for spreading the book.

This put William Ayrs in a fright. Over he came in haste with this message to me, troubled that he should be a means to bring me into trouble. But I endeavored to give him ease, by assuring him I would not fail, with God's leave, to appear at the time and place appointed, and thereby free him from trouble or danger. In the interim I received advice, by an express out of Sussex, that Guli Penn, with whom I had had an intimate acquaintance and firm friendship from our very youths, was very dangerously ill, her husband being then absent in Pennsylvania, and that she had a great desire to see and speak with me.

This put me to a great strait, and brought a sore exercise on my mind. I was divided betwixt honor and friendship. I had engaged my word to appear before the justices ; which to omit would bring dishonor on me and my profession. To stay till that time was come and past might probably prove, if I should then be left at liberty, too late to answer her desire, and satisfy friendship.

After some little deliberation, I resolved, as the best

expedient to answer both ends, to go over next morning to the justices, and lay my strait before them, and try if I could procure from them a respite of my appearance before them, until I had been in Sussex, and paid the duty of friendship to my sick friend: which I had the more hopes to obtain because I knew those justices had a great respect for Guli; for when William Penn and she were first married they lived for some years at Rickmansworth, in which time they contracted a neighborly friendship with both these justices and theirs, who ever after retained a kind regard for them both.

Early therefore in the morning I rode over. But being wholly a stranger to the justices, I went first to Watford, that I might take Ayrs along with me, who supposed himself to have some interest in Justice Titchborn; and when I came there, understanding that another Friend of that town, whose name was John Wells, was well acquainted with the other justice, Fotherly, having imparted to them the occasion of my coming, I took them both with me, and hasted back to Rickmansworth. Where, having put our horses up at an inn, and leaving William Ayrs (who was a stranger to Fotherly) there, I went with John Wells to Fotherly's house; and being brought into a fair hall, I tarried there while Wells went into the parlor to him; and having acquainted him that I was there, and desired to speak with him, brought him to me with severity in his countenance.

After he had asked me, in a tone which spake displeasure, what I had to say to him, I told him I came to wait on him upon an intimation given me that he had something to say to me. He thereupon, plucking my book out of his pocket, asked me if I owned myself to be the author of that book. I told him, if he

pleased to let me look into it, if it were mine I would not deny it. He thereupon giving it into my hand, when I had turned over the leaves and looked it through, finding it to be as it came from the press, I told him I wrote the book, and would own it, all but the errors of the press. Whereupon he, looking sternly on me, answered, "Your own errors you should have said."

Having innocency on my side, I was not at all daunted at either his speech or looks; but, feeling the Lord present with me, I replied, "I know there are errors of the press in it, and therefore I excepted them; but I do not know there are any of mine in it, and therefore cannot except them. But," added I, "if thou pleasest to show me any error of mine in it, I shall readily both acknowledge and retract it": and thereupon I desired him to give me an instance in any one passage in that book, wherein he thought I had erred. He said he needed not go to particulars, but charged me with the general contents of the whole book. I replied that such a charge would be too general for me to give a particular answer to; but if he would assign me any particular passage or sentence in the book, wherein he apprehended the ground of offence to lie, when I should have opened the terms, and explained my meaning therein, he might perhaps find cause to change his mind, and entertain a better opinion both of the book and me. And therefore I again entreated him to let me know what particular passage or passages had given him offence. He told me I needed not to be in so much haste for that; I might have it timely enough, if not too soon: "but this," said he, "is not the day appointed for your hearing; and therefore," added he, "what, I pray, made you in

such haste to come now?" I told him I hoped he would not take it for an argument of guilt, that I came before I was sent for, and offered myself to my purgation before the time appointed. And this I spake with somewhat a brisker air, which had so much influence on him as to bring a somewhat softer air over his countenance.

Then going on, I told him I had a particular occasion which induced me to come now, which was, that I received advice last night, by an express out of Sussex, that William Penn's wife, with whom I had had an intimate acquaintance and strict friendship, *ab ipsis fere incunabulis*,* at least *a teneris unguiculis*,† lay now there very ill, not without great danger, in the apprehension of those about her, of her life; and that she had expressed her desire that I would come to her as soon as I could; the rather, for that her husband was absent in America. That this had brought a great strait upon me, being divided between friendship and duty; willing to visit my friend in her illness, which the nature and law of friendship required; yet unwilling to omit my duty by failing of my appearance before him and the other justice, according to their command and my promise; lest I should thereby subject, not my own reputation only, but the reputation of my religious profession to the suspicion of guilt, and censure of willingly shunning a trial. To prevent which I had chosen to anticipate the time, and come now, to see if I could give them satisfaction in what they had to object against me, and thereupon being dismissed, might pursue my journey into Sussex; or if by them detained, to submit to Providence, and by an express to acquaint my friend therewith, both to

* Almost from our cradle.

† From our tender age.

free her from an expectation of my coming, and myself from any imputation of neglect.

While I thus delivered myself, I observed a sensible alteration in the justice ; and when I had done speaking, he first said he was very sorry for Madam Penn's illness, of whose virtue and worth he spake very highly, yet not more than was her due. Then he told me, that for her sake he would do what he could to further my visit to her ; "but," said he, "I am but one, and of myself can do nothing in it ; therefore you must go to Sir Benjamin Titchborn, and if he be at home, see if you can prevail with him to meet me, that we may consider of it.

"But I can assure you," added he, "the matter which will be laid to your charge concerning your book is of greater importance than you seem to think it. For your book has been laid before the king and council ; and the Earl of Bridgewater, who is one of the council, hath thereupon given us command to examine you about it, and secure you."

"I wish," said I, "I could speak with the earl myself, for I make no doubt but to acquaint myself unto him ; and," added I, "if thou pleasest to give me thy letter to him, I will wait upon him with it forthwith. For although I know," continued I, "that he hath no favor for any of my persuasion, yet knowing myself to be wholly innocent in this matter, I can with confidence appear before him, or even before the king in council."

"Well," said he, "I see you are confident ; but for all that, let me tell you, how good soever your intention was, you timed the publishing of your book very unluckily ; for you cannot be ignorant that there is a very dangerous plot lately discovered, contrived by the

dissenters, against the government and his majesty's life." (This was the Rye-plot, then newly broke forth, and laid upon the Presbyterians.) "And for you," added he, "to publish a book just at that juncture of time to discourage the magistrates and other officers from putting in execution those laws which were made to suppress their meetings, looks, I must tell you, but with a scurvy countenance upon you."

"If," replied I, with somewhat a pleasanter air, "there was any mistiming in the case, it must lie on the part of those plotters, for timing the breaking forth of their plot while my book was a printing; for I can bring very good proof that my book was in the press, and wellnigh wrought off, before any man talked or knew of a plot, but those who were in it."

Here our discourse ended, and I, taking for the present my leave of him, went to my horse, and, changing my companion, rode to Justice Titchborn's, having with me William Ayrs, who was best acquainted with him, and who had casually brought this trouble on me. When he had introduced me to Titchborn, I gave him a like account of the occasion of my coming at that time, as I had before given to the other justice. And both he and his lady, who was present, expressed much concern for Guli Penn's illness. I found this man to be of quite another temper than Justice Fotherly; for this man was smooth, soft, and oily, whereas the other was rather rough, severe, and sharp. Yet, at the winding up, I found Fotherly my truest friend.

When I had told Sir Benjamin Titchborn that I came from Justice Fotherly, and requested him to give him a meeting to consider of my business, he readily *without hesitation* told me he would go with me to *Rickmansworth*, from which his house was distant

about a mile ; and, calling for his horses, mounted immediately ; and to Rickmansworth we rode.

After they had been a little while together, I was called in before them ; and in the first place they examined me as to " what was my intention and design in writing that book." I told them the introductory part of it gave a plain account of it, viz. " That it was to get ease from the penalties of a severe law, — often executed with too great a severity by unskilful officers, who were driven on beyond the bounds of their duty, by the impetuous threats of a sort of insolent fellows, as needy as greedy, who, for their own advantage, sought our ruin." To prevent which was the design and drift of that book, by acquainting such officers how they might safely demean themselves in the execution of their offices, towards their honest and peaceable neighbors, without ruining either their neighbors or themselves, to enrich some of the worst of men. And I humbly conceived it was neither unlawful nor unreasonable for a sufferer to do this, so long as it was done in a fair, sober, and peaceable way.

They then put me in mind of the plot ; told me it was a troublesome and dangerous time, and my book might be construed to import sedition, in discouraging the officers from putting the laws in execution, as by law and by their oath they were bound. And in fine they brought it to this issue, that they were directed to secure me by a commitment to prison until the assize, at which I should receive a farther charge than they were provided now to give me ; but because they were desirous to forward my visit to Madam Penn, they told me they would admit me to bail, and therefore, if I would enter a recognizance, with sufficient sureties, for my appearance at the next assize, they would leave me at liberty to go on my journey.

I told them I could not do it. They said they would give me as little trouble as they could, and therefore they would not put me to seek bail; but would accept those two friends of mine, who were then present, to be bound with me for my appearance.

I let them know my strait lay not in the difficulty of procuring sureties, for I did suppose myself to have sufficient acquaintance and credit in that place, if on such an occasion I could be free to use it; but, as I knew myself to be an innocent man, I had not satisfaction in myself to desire others to be bound for me, or to enter myself into a recognizance; that carrying in it, to my apprehension, a reflection on my innocency, and the reputation of my Christian profession.

Here we stuck and struggled about this a pretty while, till at length, finding me fixed in my judgment, and resolved rather to go to prison than give bail, they asked me if I was against appearing, or only against being bound with sureties to appear. I told them I was not against appearing; which as I could not avoid if I would, so I would not if I might; but was ready and willing to appear, if required, to answer whatsoever should be charged against me. But in any case of a religious nature, or wherein my Christian profession was concerned, which I took this case to be, I could not yield to give any other or farther security than my word or promise as a Christian.

They, unwilling to commit me, took hold of that and asked if I would promise to appear. I answered, "Yes; with due limitations." "What do you mean by due limitations?" said they. "I mean," replied I, "if I am not disabled or prevented by sickness or imprisonment; for," added I, "as you allege that it is a troublesome time, I perhaps may find it so. I may

for aught I know be seized and imprisoned elsewhere on the same account for which I now stand here before you; and if I should, how then could I appear at the assize in this county?" "O," said they, "these are due limitations indeed! Sickness or imprisonment are lawful excuses, and if either of these befall you, we shall not expect your appearance here; but then you must certify to us that you are so disabled by sickness or restraint."

"But," said I, "how shall I know when and where I shall wait upon you again after my return from Sussex?" "You need not," said they, "trouble yourself about that; we will take care to give you notice of both time and place, and till you hear from us you may dispose yourself as you please."

"Well, then," said I, "I do promise you that, when I shall have received from you a fresh command to appear before you, I will, if the Lord permit me life, health, and liberty, appear when and where you shall appoint." "It is enough," said they; "we will take your word." And, desiring me to give their hearty respects and service to Madam Penn, they dismissed me with their good wishes for a good journey.

I was sensible that in this they had dealt very favourably and kindly with me; therefore I could not but acknowledge to them the sense I had thereof. Which done, I took leave of them, and, mounting, returned home with what haste I could, to let my wife know how I had sped. And, having given her a summary account of the business, I took horse again, and went so far that evening towards Worminghurst that I got thither pretty early next morning, and, to my great satisfaction, found my friend in a hopeful way towards a recovery.

I stayed some days with her; and then, finding her illness wear daily off, and some other friends being come from London to visit her, I (mindful of my engagement to the justices, and unwilling by too long an absence to give them occasion to suspect I was willing to avoid their summons), leaving those other friends to bear her company longer, took my leave of her and them, and set my face homewards, carrying with me the welcome account of my friend's recovery.

Being returned home, I waited in daily expectation of a command from the justices to appear again before them, but none came. I spake with those Friends who had been with me when I was before them, and they said they had heard nothing of it from them, although they had since been in company with them. At length the assize came, but no notice was given to me that I should appear there; in fine, they never troubled themselves nor me any farther about it.

Thus was a cloud, that looked black and threatened a great storm, blown gently over by a providential breath, which I could not but, with a thankful mind, acknowledge to the all-great, all-good, all-wise Disposer, in whose hand and at whose command are the hearts of all men, even the greatest; and who turns their counsels, disappoints their purposes, and defeats their designs and contrivances, as he pleases. For if my dear friend Guli Penn had not fallen sick, if I had not thereupon been sent for to her, I had not prevented the time of my appearance, but had appeared on the day appointed; and, as I afterwards understood, that was the day appointed for the appearance of a great many persons of the dissenting party in that side of the county, who were to be taken up and secured, on the account of the aforementioned plot, which had been

cast upon the Presbyterians. So that if I had then appeared with and amongst them, I had in all likelihood been sent to jail with them for company, and that under the imputation of a plotter, than which nothing was more contrary to my profession and inclination.

But though I came off so easy, it fared not so well with others; for, the storm increasing, many Friends in divers parts, both of city and country, suffered greatly; the sense whereof did deeply affect me, and the more, for that I observed the magistrates, not thinking the laws which had been made against us severe enough, perverted the law in order to punish us. For, calling our peaceable meetings riots (which, in the legal notion of the word "riot," is a contradiction in terms) they indicted our Friends as rioters for only sitting in a meeting, though nothing was there either said or done by them, and then set fines on them at pleasure.

This I knew to be not only against right and justice, but even against law; and it troubled me to think that we should be made to suffer not only by laws made directly against us, but even by laws that did not at all concern us. Nor was it long before I had occasion offered more thoroughly to consider this matter.

For a justice of the peace in this county, who was called Sir Dennis Hampson, of Taplow, breaking in with a party of horse upon a little meeting near Wooburn, in his neighborhood, the first of the fifth month, 1683, sent most of the men, to the number of twenty-three, whom he found there, to Aylesbury prison, though most of them were poor men who lived by their labor; and, not going himself to the next quarter sessions at Buckingham, on the 12th of the same month, sent his clerk, with direction that they should be indicted for a riot. Thither the pris-

oners were carried, and indicted accordingly; and, being pressed by the court to traverse and give bail, they moved to be tried forthwith, but that was denied them. And they, giving in writing the reason of their refusing bail and fees, were remanded to prison till the next quarter-sessions; but William Woodhouse was again bailed, as he had been before; and William Mason and John Reeve, not being Friends, but casually taken at that meeting, entered recognizance as the court desired, and so were released till next sessions; before which time Mason died, and Reeve being sick appeared not, but got himself taken off. And in the eighth month following, the twenty-one prisoners that remained were brought to trial; a jury was found who brought in a pretended verdict that they were *guilty of a riot*, for only sitting peaceably together, without a word or action; and though there was no proclamation made, nor they required to depart. But one of the jurymen afterwards did confess he knew not what a riot was; yet the prisoners were fined a noble apiece, and recommitted to prison during life (a hard sentence) or the king's pleasure, or until they should pay the said fines. William Woodhouse was forthwith discharged, by his kinsman's paying the fine and fees for him. Thomas Dell and Edward Moore also, by other people of the world paying their fines and fees for them; and shortly after Stephen Pewsey, by the town and parish where he lived, for fear his wife and children should become a charge upon them. The other seventeen remained prisoners till King James's proclamation of pardon.

THE END.



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